

Anti Poverty Hearing 9:00 a.m.-12:12 p.m.

April 10, 1967

MISSISSIPPI DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY
Post Office Box 571
Jackson., Mississippi 39205

AU 1058
TR 024a

Title: Anti Poverty Hearing 9:00 a.m.-12:12 p.m., April 10, 1967

AU 1058 – SIDE 1

- [WALES]: Good morning, everyone. This is Dallas [Wales], along with Forrest Cox and Hagan Thompson, greeting you from the Victory Room in the Heidelberg Hotel in downtown Jackson where, in just a few moments, a special Senate subcommittee, which will be looking into federal anti-poverty programs, will get underway. This is the first of the series of hearings in 10 states. The members of the subcommittee that are here in Jackson are the chairman, Senator Joseph Clark of Pennsylvania, Senator Robert Kennedy and Jacob Javits, both of New York, George Murphy of California. Two more senators could not make it: Winston Prouty of Vermont and Gaylord Nelson of Wisconsin, who had previously announced as being part of the committee who would sit here in Jackson today and in the Delta tomorrow in their investigation of how the poverty programs are being conducted around the nation and, especially, at this point here in Mississippi, could not make it today, so we will have only the four: Senator Joseph Clark of Pennsylvania, the chairman; Senator Robert Kennedy and Jacob Javits, both of whom are from New York; and George Murphy of California. Forrest, I notice they seem to be slow in getting underway.
- COX: I have noticed that some of the senators have arrived, Dallas. We have Senator Clark. We, also, have Senator Jacob Javits right over here to my left. He is here. Senator Murphy and Senator Kennedy have not arrived as yet. There's one thing that I noticed. We are in a room here. It looks as though we could seat about a thousand people back here. In fact, someone connected with the hotel told me a few moments ago that they had made arrangements to seat a thousand. Approximately, how many would you say we had? Not over 200.
- [WALES]: Not over 200, Forrest. I was wondering. Of course, we've been announcing for two days that we were going to carry this thing live on television. It could have conceivably cut in on the audience here, I think.
- COX: There is a good possibility there. Here comes Senator Murphy right now. I expect that Senator Kennedy will be arriving shortly. Actually, we didn't think this program would get underway at nine o'clock, but it looks as though these senators arrived [promptly].
- [WALES]: If they keep up with their agenda and all of the things they've set out to do for themselves today, they're going to have to crank up and get on going.
- COX: That's right.
- [WALES]: There's one thing that I think we should keep in mind here. This is not an

investigation of misdoings or anything like that. Senator Joe Clark said last night in the press conference, he says, "We don't know what we're looking for."

COX: Well, now, I talked to one of the witnesses, who is to testify a little bit later on, and talking, of course, about the poverty program, he said, "Actually, the whole thing, it's a very, very good idea. It's just some of the mishandling of some of the things that have been in the past." That's what they're looking into right now. That's been [inaudible].

[WALES]: Of course, we've had this controversy between CDGM and MAP going on here for some months here in Mississippi and the cause of the We're going to stop right here, because the hearing is getting ready to get underway.

CLARK: ...will be in session. I would like to welcome the witnesses and the members of the general public who have joined us this morning. [inaudible] first that the subcommittee has been received with every courtesy here in Jackson. We like your town. We like your airport. We like your hospitality. Our purpose in coming here I stated yesterday at our press conference, but I'd like to briefly state it again. The Subcommittee on Manpower, Employment and Poverty of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare has been authorized by the Senate to make a general overall study of the poverty program in the United States in order to determine what's right with it, what's wrong with it, what needs to be done to strengthen it, to what extent, if at all, administration reorganization is desirable, and, generally, to report back to the Senate the [result of our findings]. We've already held one week of hearings in Washington, D. C. where individuals closely connected with the poverty program, including a number of critics, have been heard. This session in Mississippi today in Jackson and tomorrow, working north towards the Tennessee border, are the first of 10 trips the subcommittee will take throughout the country during the course of which we will visit 15 cities who are rural areas in an endeavor to find out just what we should report to our parent Committee on Labor and Public Welfare and the Senate with respect to legislative and oversight recommendations. I want to stress again, as I have everywhere else that this survey is neither a witch-hunt nor a whitewash. We're here to find out the basic facts. On my right is Senator Javits of New York, Senator Murphy of California, Senator Kennedy of New York will be here shortly. Our first witness today is...our first witness today is our colleague, Senator John Stennis of Mississippi appearing at his request. We're happy, indeed, to have him here. Senator Stennis, I want to welcome you before the subcommittee as you have been kind enough to welcome me to Mississippi. Will you please proceed, sir, in your own way.

STENNIS: Well, Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, my colleagues. I want to thank you for this chance to appear here.

- CLARK: Senator [inaudible], we're going to have to have quiet over there among the television and radio people. We've got to have our concentration entirely on the witness. Will you please proceed, sir? I know, in particular, you are for order and [inaudible].
- STENNIS: Well, I thank the chair. And I thank all of you for the privilege of being here as a witness on the forthcoming bill as a member of the Senate as well as a Mississippian with responsibility to the people of my state for what I say and do as well as responsible to you as my colleagues for what I say and do. I do not, as you know, belong to your subcommittee nor to your full committee, I am a member of the Appropriations Committee that has responsibility of passing on the money that implements the program that you gentlemen formulate in the general law. And it's because of my experiences on that Appropriations Subcommittee that I have what I think are definite, positive and, I believe, constructive suggestions to make to you today with reference to amending the present law. And I will refer to these briefly, and, then, extend my remarks on each. Now, I'm...I'm here at the pleasure of the committee, of course, but I will appreciate, if it's the pleasure of the committee, a chance to present my points and my views without interruption, and, then, I will be glad to try to answer, of course, any questions that you gentlemen may have.
- CLARK: I'm sure that will be satisfactory to my colleagues as it is to me.
- STENNIS: I thank you, Chair, and, in the interest of time, too, Mr. Chairman, my prepared statement at the last, I will ask that it be inserted in the record. And I will summarize it now if I may.
- CLARK: Without objection, the entire statement will be printed in the record at the beginning of Senator Stennis' comments that he will now proceed to summarize.
- STENNIS: I thank you, Chair. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, my first...my first recommendation is that you write into the permanent law of this program strict requirements of fiscal control and accounting with a permanent statutory prohibition against the refunding or letting more money be granted to a grantee that has properly...that has failed to properly account for all previous grants made. Now, that might seem rather obvious. We had this matter up in the Appropriations Committee and I offered an amendment to that effect, but it had to be put in the language of a limitation on the appropriations bill. It was accepted by the Senate. I followed it the conference where it was accepted there, but, of course, it expired with that appropriations bill. And I'll refer to that amendment having come into operation in a few minutes. Second, I want to recommend strongly that the bill you are writing provide wide and full authority for a governor, any

governor of a state, to veto without recourse any project he determines that's not in the public interest. It goes without saying that a governor, anyone elected governor of a state under those responsibilities, that a responsible man fills his role to the very best of his ability, and you're not granting to an unknown authority when you put this in the law. It was in the law at one time. It was voted out recently, and I, as I recall, just by a one vote margin in the House. I believe that was the vote. The third recommendation I have is that you place the control and administration of the program, and I'm referring now particularly to these Head Start programs or any local program, community action program, place the control and administration of the program in the hands of local, responsible citizens and the constituted governmental authority. Now, gentlemen, under the present law, it's possible for the director, any director, to overrule the governor of a state, overrule the legislature of a state, overrule the county board of control, ignore, overrule the two United States Senators, overrule all or part of the congressional delegation. He does not have to clear with anyone in Washington with any of these programs except the busiest man in the world, and that's the President of the United States. And, with the world afire with war and problems at home of the greatest magnitude, the President has no chance in the world to be giving his attention to community action projects and shouldn't be. I think that this is a small tiger or small giant now, but, if we do not reverse this trend, in 10 years, this very so-called anti-poverty law can develop into a monster that will defy and devour us all including the old established regular agencies of our federal government. That is the trend now. As I say, we had the recognition of a governor to be recognized in this matter, but we took that out of the law even though it hadn't been abused. There'd been only two absolute vetoes. But the influence of a possible veto was a powerful factor. And, when I make references here to the director, I'm not talking about Mr. Shriver alone. When I get to matters pertaining to him, I'll call his name freely. But any director, any director. If that's going to be the permanent policy of the federal government, and, then, vote into their hands billions of dollars to do as they see fit subject only to the control of this busiest man in the world, as I say, then that can become the monster that will really devour the people. Now, my second point is that I want you to put something here to place the control and administration of the program in the hands of local, responsible people. That's a fundamental of our government. After all, the only way to get constructive, permanent continuing results is working through the communities, the counties, the cities or whatever the agency is. Or, if you want to go outside the official agencies, certainly into the hands of local, responsible people. And that's where we've had the trouble in Mississippi with these programs and about the only place that we've had grave trouble. It may work a little slower, but it's the only safe and sound procedure. You must have confidence and respect for those local people. Now, it's on that point that I'm going to refer to experience I had as an Appropriations Committee member working with one member, one member of the

appropriations staff together with such time as a member of my staff (and I meant to say in the beginning the gentlemen sitting on my right is Mr. Spell of Jackson, Mississippi, a friendly member of my staff in Washington who worked on the CDGM project a great deal). Now the complaints and the letters and the statement of facts that commenced coming in about the operation of this Head Start CDGM program, which was then the primary one in the state in 1955, '65, to me were just unbelievable. It was, and I didn't believe it could happen or was happening. But [under] constant reports of responsible people, I got Senator Hayden to send a man down here, and he's sitting here now, Mr. Paul [Carter], and he found these facts to be beyond what they'd been reported to me. And I'll refer shortly to a statement Mr. Shriver made lately that confirms what I'm saying. And, by the way, Governor Paul Johnson and his staff in Mississippi, being greatly concerned with what was happening, aided and assisted in a very fine way in these matters. The throwing away of money, the payment of exorbitant sums for rent, three or four or five times as much as the possible value could be, the extravagant use of automobiles day and night beyond official duties, the charting of airplanes, and one thing, I remember, for 100 dollars to go to one [speaker] to go to a graduation of a group of little students just five years of age. But the whole thing amounted to this, according even to the OEO auditors, over 500,000 dollars for that year could not be accounted for. And it has never been accounted for according to any standards. It might have been excused here lately, but it's not been accounted for. I abandoned...when they admitted that much, I stopped using figures I had that was higher, because I just took their proof and went before the Appropriations Committee and that's when we got a limitation. In the [rush of] things there, you couldn't get legislation, we got this limitation on the appropriation bill to which I refer. And I knew if it continued it would be effective the next year, the next calendar year. And that's exactly what happened. We pursued this matter, but, all the time I told Mr. Shriver, if you get responsible people in Mississippi to take over the operation of this CDGM or any other Head Start program, I will withdraw my objection, at least until we see how it works. I did not recommend anyone. I wasn't going to be a party charged with recommending anyone. Alright, time went on in '66, gentlemen, and I was letting OEO know that I would meet them in the Appropriations Committee room with my fact, and they knew largely what the fact were. And I would renew that suggestion that they get responsible leadership, and they did. And they did, but, in that second year, there has been 600,000 dollars unaccounted for, unexplained, either taken illegally or disappearing somehow. It was unaccounted for. So, before that appropriation matter came up, I was told they were going to cut off CDGM. And I took that for their word. I was told they had substitute leadership down here composed of local people, and they gave me the names of two or three of the leading businessmen in the state which were entirely acceptable to me, and I accepted that. And they set up, then, what they call MAP, M-A-P, another group under...of the Head Start program, and Mr. Shriver,

then, made a statement. He made this statement to the Appropriations Committee, I believe, or to some committee, and, referring to these matters that I've been talking about, he used these words referring to this Mississippi situation, CDGM in particular. "We found, specifically, that people were paid for work that they had not performed." Continuing to quote. "We found that people were paid and time and attendance sheets were certified by supervisors for employees who were not even in the state of Mississippi. We found that, at least, five of the 15 administrators of various areas under this program had certified that certain employees were on the job when, in fact, they were not on the job." Now, those are his words, not mine. Continuing to quote. "We found a variety of conflict of interest matters that included people on the Board of Directors as well as staff members. We found pieces of nepotism. We found that property paid for by the government was used for nongovernmental purposes. Automobiles, for example, were used on weekends and at nighttime for activities that clearly were not connected with the program." I continue to quote. "We found that contracts were paid out on estimated performance rather than on actual performances. We found a number of cashed payroll checks that appeared to be endorsed by persons other than the payee." Continuing to quote. "We found that more than half of a sample of 300 applications were not submitted until after the person was hired." End quote. Now, that is a very mild statement of the facts that we had found. But that was the statement made when he cut off CDGM, declared them ineligible for any further money. Now, Mr. Shriver, with all deference, made it clear that I had nothing to do with it which was alright. I...I...I didn't answer. I said nothing on the floor. He had done, I thought, what the plan was and the appropriations bill went on through. That was late '66. Now, when I commenced hearing about plans to reinstate this matter, I just...I just couldn't believe it. But, nevertheless, I think one of the reasons for the need for this mandate in the law about cutting off those who do not comply is to protect the director. Because I'm satisfied, as an experienced senator, that the director was put under tremendous pressure from many different sources to reinstate this group. I know he was. Tremendous pressure. Why, gentlemen, I read in the newspaper that [inaudible] [Luther] was heading up a committee to investigate me. Me, a member of the Senate. I don't...It didn't say for what, but it was in connection with this appropriations cut off of CDGM. I don't know. Maybe for the way I voted on the bill. But that...that was up. I paid no attention to it, and I never heard anything further. But I do know there was a stir and an activity there. Now, a lot of misguided and misinformed or uniformed church groups have got into this matter. And, by the way, the sponsor, the original sponsor of this was a Mary Holmes Junior College in Mississippi that got around the law with reference to the, then, veto power that a governor had, or did not have...well, educational project...educational project would get around the veto then. But this thing had been tied in with the Delta ministry and groups of that kind. That might have brought the church groups in, but I know that

they did come in in a tremendous way on Mr. Shriver. In addition, I know that they picketed. A great group of them picketed his office of some of the OEO offices there in Washington. And, finally, when the matter came out that they were reinstated, the announcement said that the Presbyterian Church was going to underwrite any future losses, and I believe they said past losses, in this program. Now, gentlemen, that's going a long, long way that a department of the federal government operated directly by the President and his director has to have a church organization guarantee or underwrite the proper performance of the personnel that they select to carry the job out. It doesn't make any difference what kind of a project it is, I think that's ridiculous. And I can't picture any director of OEO or any President of the United States filing suit against any church on this assurance of this guarantee that they've made. I don't think those things are going to happen, and, therefore, I don't think that there's any real, actual, valid substance in this underwrite. Now, I know the claim is made that the board of CDGM under the new regime has been strengthened, but I don't think it bears out...that's going out by the facts, gentlemen. I think that the persons...the controlling part of the board is just about the same that it was before. There may be a little shifting. For instance, one of the persons added to the board in an effort to strengthen it was the chairman in charge of the CDGM program during its first year of operation in '65 when it first got into this trouble and came under investigation. The financial records of CDGM under this man's direction were in such bad shape that a score of appropriations committees, GAO and OEO auditors could not even put enough of the records of facts together to account for the money in this first round of 1.6 million dollars. The present chairman is the same person who was in charge of CDM last year when OEO found all the discrepancies that I just quoted from the hearing records. Now, this information, now, was gained from OEO office in Washington just before I left there. If it's changed, it's been changed since then. I know there was another thing about the pressure on the chairman. They had over 150 lawyers gathered, according to press reports, at Howard University in Washington to bring what you might call legal pressure upon him. Now I think that the...I...I...those things did happen, and he reinstated this group, frankly, I believe personally, on his own protest, but under this terrific pressure. And I say that with great respect for his effort, for his effort, it wasn't time at least, to do something about this thing that was a stench in his nostrils. And I'm not over-speaking on that, because he and I have talked about it. We didn't disagree...we didn't agree on many of the facts, but we have talked about it. I'll tell you another thing, gentlemen. He told me, Mr. Shriver did in 1965, that he was going to move this group out of this place over here that had such a terrible reputation (what is that place?) yeah, Mount [Beulah] in Edwards, not too far from Jackson here. I complained about them operating out of there. Everybody in Mississippi knew that it was a stink hole of beatniks and immorality. There were people going around teaching these children that just did not have the qualities, the moral qualities that goes

with teaching. And Mr. Shriver told me that he was going to move them out of there, and I know he made that statement in good faith. It wasn't made in private. He sent...and I'll tell you this to his credit. It's the reason I'm relating it. He sent for me in the Senate restaurant to come out there, please. He had something he wanted to tell me, and that's what he told me. Now, I learned later that he sent a man down here and had a meeting of this group and told them what the director's orders was, and they absolutely refused to move. Just turned it down. I tell you, there's some kind of an invisible empire or government or movement of some kind that's nationwide, at least through the East and the North, that has moved in on this same matter. And I say hard, firm legislation is the on...in your bill is the only thing that will curb it and stop it. I've argued about this thing two or three years. This is the only way it can be done and I...I call this...I call this to your special attention to protect this director from repeated instances of this kind. Now that Mount Beulah matter, they did move out the next year, and I understand they have offices here in Jackson. But I know as a fact, and I state on my responsibility to you, I know what happened at that meeting. And those people were so well [healed]. I mean the ruling group of the CDGM down here heading by a gentlemen from out of state, up East, and I'm not seeking to discredit him. They just refused to obey the director of OEO. Now, I don't know what Mr. Shriver was told. He wasn't there. But I state that to make clear. Back there when this gentleman was trying to do something about this thing, he was hedged in to a degree by his own group. And I know, too, what happened with reference to this tremendous pressure. Now, gentlemen, to...I...I'm here for two things. That brings it up. I want...I want the law to more completely protect the children for which the money is appropriated. I believe the way this money was thrown away by this CDGM is the worst example in war or not in war that I've ever seen of the throwing away of federal money. It must be protected for the children. Number two, I want to try to help protect the people of Mississippi from a repetition of what they had to put up here with down here when this CDGM group were running at large. And I mean by that their appearances, their remarks, in what they were saying to children, to adults, and the way they were carrying on in addition, in addition to the loss of this money. Gentlemen, there's a limit, there's a limit to what people ought to be called on to bear. Now, this same Head Start program, same Head Start program has operated through local leadership and part local control in a very good manner, and those things will, doubtless, be explained to you by those that are espousing the cause. And I know of some of them pretty generally it's been that way. I've had to concentrate on the trouble spots [inaudible]. And I, you know I'm not a zealot. I'm not a reformer by nature, but, when things are happening in your state this way, gentlemen, you've got to try to do something about it. Now, let me...let me refer to one other matter. We have here now a most excellent manpower training program carried on by our Employment Security Agency and by our state vocational education. We've been outstanding. We've...we've been at these things a long time down

here. We haven't had as much money as you have, but we have home missionaries that get results on these matters far more than those that come in with your money, or federal money, at least, to do their reform work. I'm told by a man that's been the leader of our vocational work in Mississippi that the American Vocational Association has made an estimate and that they can give the same training at the cost of 2,000 dollars per year, and I think that this is of interest, plus whatever the building may cost, for the job that the Job Corps is spending from eight to nine thousand dollars, at least. I don't have the exact figures on that. I've heard that figure's as high as 11 thousand dollars, but I use the smaller figure that I have. They say that they can pay these people a hundred dollars a month for 12 months and, then, with 800 dollars for the education, give them the full year's training. And, knowing these men as I do, I believe what they say, and I know the quality...the quality of their work in the past. Now, that...that's a joint program that I refer to here by the Employment Security and our vocational education group here in the state, and they...they can run it. They can run it on this 2,000 dollars that I have referred to. And they now have 2580...2580 people in actual training now. Seems to me like that you ought to consider taking at least part, if not all, of this federal money that you're putting in here for this job training, the Job Corps I believe it's called, and let these people that are already in the business have it under your regulations and see what they can do with it. Now, we have now in this state over 100...I think it's over 110 thousand young people in this...No, excuse me. The figure I'm referring to now...the group I'm referring to now includes the secondary schools and the junior colleges and 3500 adults...over 101 thousand actually enrolled in these...in these vocational and technical training, and we have a vocational education budget now that's totaling over 12 million dollars. Four million in round numbers from the federal government, three and a half million from the state and four and two-tenths million from the local government. We're not asleep, and we're not [zealots]. We've been doing a great many of these things a long, long time. And I'm told by these departments...I sought them out, they didn't seek me...but I know them and I believe what they tell me. They said that if they had enough money that they could put into being fairly soon a program to take care of all of this training...all of this training. I'd require a good deal more money than they have now. Some of them...I...I'm not an educator myself, but I know for our needs, and that's not without any doubt in my mind...for our needs I know they know what they're talking about and that they could carry it through. Now, if I may...if I may make the suggestion, I still...I'm a little frugal, I suppose, on the frugal side and, maybe, a little old-fashioned [inaudible]...I still have a belief that, when the Congress takes money out of anyone's pocket that they've earned by taxation, that they have a duty and a responsibility to follow that dollar through as to how it's spent. And I most respectfully suggest to you, gentlemen, as to this missing money and funds and all that I've talked about...and I understand it's in other states. I hear more concern,

gentlemen, in the appropriations room behind the doors, from senators. Concern, I said, about the operation of this part of the program than any other subject that comes up. Those that are coming up for reelection are afraid of some things that have been happening. That's for your information, and you might talk to you. I can give you that names of some of them. But I, respectfully, suggest that you hire some hard-fisted, tough-minded investigators that really go out and try to trace down this money. I can't do it. I don't have the staff to do it. Frankly, I don't think the appropriations committee has efficient staff. You may not have now. I doubt you do. But I respectfully suggest the most wholesome thing you could do would get some of that type investigators to go out here and run this money down, and let's tell the taxpayers what happened to it. Taxpayers, there are a lot of little people, so-called, that pay taxes, to sacrifice [for them]. They're retired people on fixed incomes, meager incomes, have to pay what's to them large taxes. And, if you could see fit to do that, I think there would be rejoicing in the country, and I know there would be, in many places, in the Senate. I don't believe it would take a great [inaudible]. If you couldn't find the money or couldn't trail it exactly, you'd, at least, be able to report that you couldn't find it. Now, gentlemen, we need...we need this legis...I've never fought all of this Head Start program or poverty program as such, all of it. I've said what I've already repeated to you here today. Put it in the hands of [confident] people with local responsibility. People who know the ones they're working with and know how to make it go. And I'd withdraw. And when they did that with this MAP group and turned right around...right around, then, and reinstated CDGM, I think they partly cut the ground out from under the MAP group. And I know...I know, unless there's a lot of self-reformation, that we're going to have a repeat of what we had in '65 and '66. And I don't believe this self-reformation is coming from that group of individuals. There's got to be something in the law that would control. And I think it would be the greatest boost that the director, himself, would have. To me, what happened in '65 and '66 was is a scandalous situation. I think it ought to be...I term it a national scandal based on facts that I know. And I believe you can prevent it in just this way. I thank you very much for your indulgence. I'm not going to take more of your time now except what you may wish.

CLARK: I very much...

STENNIS: I will put my...

CLARK: Your statement's already in, Senator. Thank you very much for a forthright and controversial statement. Senator Javits, do you have any questions?

JAVITS: Mr. Chairman, I have no questions for Senator Stennis, but I do believe that the senator has raised a certain number of highly controversial issues in

which I think the people, as well as ourselves, should understand that these are the charges, and that those charged must have the opportunity to reply in specific detail. The charges as I understand them, Mr. Chairman, are that, by implication, at least, the administration of the CDGM program was put in the hands of irresponsible rather than responsible people in Mississippi. That there was undo pressure on the OEO administrator to fund the CDGM after these disclosures were made, and that these disclosures represented, in Senator Stennis' words, expenditures that were challenged in the case of 1966 [is] the word used and questioned in the case of 1965. Well, obviously, whether they actually were improper will depend upon the facts. And we already have a report from Ernst and Ernst which, I understand, minimizes, through a very tiny extent, the figures which are involved bringing them down to a few hundred. Some hundreds in one case and some thousands in the other. Finally, there were immoral people, beatniks, etc., who refused to obey the director of OEO, who was no czar either and can be challenged like anybody else, and the various imperfections and problems raised in respect to what was taught the children. All of this, Mr. Chairman, I think, requires the committee, in basic fairness, to allow an opportunity to reply, with respect to these charges, to those who were affected by them; the people in CDGM, the OEO administrator, Mr. Shriver and any others who might be named.

CLARK: Senator Javits, let me interrupt you to say that we have a number of local witnesses who will appear later today who have asked to be heard in this very connection. And, of course, when we go back to Washington before we complete our hearings, Mr. Shriver will have an opportunity to be heard.

JAVITS: Well, I thank the chair, and the [only] part of my remarks, and I don't intend to question Senator Stennis about it, because I think he's made his position very clear and shows great conviction about it, is that the people of Mississippi and the people of the United States and the members of the Senate and the House of Representatives must remember that these are charges and that their minds and hearts must be kept open for the rebuttal. I know that Senator Stennis, himself, is enough of a lawyer to know that there are two sides to every case. And my only point is that an opportunity, a full opportunity, shall be afforded, and I'm delighted to hear the statement of the chair, which I knew would be the case for that purpose in due course. Thank you.

CLARK: [Are there] any comments, Senator Stennis, on what Senator Javits has just said?

STENNIS: Just this, Mr. Chairman and members of the committee. Much...my statement there about the immorality was referring to conditions at this place, Mount Beulah. Mount Beulah, which was, at that time, the headquarters and from which the CDGM group operated. There were other

groups that were housed at this place, Mount Beulah, and my remarks related to the situation there at this place.

JAVITS (?): May I say, Mr. Chairman, that we all understand that we are not operating in a vacuum here. There have been tremendous tensions in this state which have had very serious outbreaks of violence. And we know that the state, for a long time, has had an equally...almost an equally divided population between Whites and Negroes, and that there have been [grave] charges, many, in my judgment, [sharply] substantiated, that the Negroes have not had their full participation in, either politically or in other ways, the activities of the state. Now, all of this has been [brought in] too many times in the Congress, but I did not believe the record should just stand as it was, even temporarily. As I said...said before, I am confident that the chair has confirmed that...that those charged will have a full opportunity to reply, and I hope that the public will be fair enough and that my colleagues, I know, will be fair enough to keep their minds open until both the charges and the rebuttal can be evaluated [inaudible]. Thank you.

CLARK: Senator Murphy.

MURPHY: I want to thank [inaudible] I thank Senator Stennis for his testimony, and I think it's [well] that the points have been covered by my colleague, Senator Javits [inaudible] the chairman. However, I am very pleased that the Senator has made the points he has, a matter of fiscal control, the authority resting within the state and control of the administration. I think that, basically, these three things, it seems to me, to be a sad commentary that, at this late day, after an expenditure of some four billion dollars nationwide, that we have to have an investigation to find out what's happened. It would be much more pleasurable for me to be having a meeting here to celebrate a great achievement of this entire program. Unfortunately, this has not been the case. That's why we're here, and I thank the senator for his very simple and sound recommendations as to consideration for the committee in writing the new law. Thank you very much.

STENNIS: Well, I thank...I thank [inaudible]. Do you have something further?

CLARK: [inaudible] proceed, sir.

STENNIS: Well, I thank each member of the committee for their remarks. I strongly favor, of course, both sides being heard, any side being heard. That's what put me here today. But I can say this to you, gentleman, that both sides have already been heard many times, many times. And, very respectfully, if you want to get the actual facts, you better send investigators specially prepared to dig in to this thing and go to the bottom of it. Otherwise, you'll get some general statements as we have had in the past. Mr. Chairman, may I...may I read in the record here one very brief paragraph as to the [cost]. And I...this

refers to my plea to consider putting some of this work in the hands of...at least some of it in the hands of the old agencies. One grant in this state, and that was to this Child Development Group of Mississippi, was made on the basis of 1340 dollars per child. That is almost five times the expenditure per child in the public schools of our state. It's almost three times the national average for public schools per child, and even almost double the expenditure per public school student in the fine, rich city of New York which leads all the nation. Now, these expenditures here are almost double that amount. Now, Mr. Chairman, I have here a paragraph that was from the report of this investigator and I...may I read it quite briefly?

CLARK: Certainly.

STENNIS: This Senate investigator, now, these are not my words.

CLARK: This is [someone] from the appropriations committee.

STENNIS: That's right, yes. He said, "The community organization set up within CDGM, it is felt a particularly bad situation." This wasn't reported to me, this was to the committee. "As indicated, this segment of the organization at the headquarters area at local levels, through community gatherings and various other methods, deal with social services including apprising the colored community of their rights, how they can obtain welfare and other federal services, furnishing pamphlets, and so forth. There is little doubt but that civil rights organizational activities are being promoted within the framework of this activity." Now, those are his words, not mine, but that's what they were doing. "[Apparently] some of this activity is not the type which should be subsidized by federal Head Start grant funds, and it is sure to breed racial friction and, possibly, violence." Now listen at this. "In some of the classrooms," these CDGM classrooms, "there was a sign, Black Power, regardless of the desirability of these parents of these Children improving themselves and identifying them with the program. The way it is seemingly being done within the framework of CDGM, it is believed to be wrong and something should be done about it." And that's when the committee put in this bill, gentlemen, this amendment that said they wouldn't be eligible [for] anyone. No one would be eligible for any more funds until they had accounted for what they already had. So, I thank you again for your indulgence.

CLARK: Senator Stennis, I don't know whether Senator Kennedy, who has returned to the [rostrum] has any questions or not, but if you'll just indulge [it] for a moment, we'll see.

STENNIS: Well, I certainly...I certainly will.

KENNEDY(?): Excuse me, Senator. I had [an emergency phone call].

CLARK: Senator Kennedy of New York.

KENNEDY: I think that Senator Javits mentioned the fact that some of the matters that were discussed by you are very significant and, I think, very important to the committee. Some of them consisted of these allegations in connection with this organization. And I have here before me the report of Ernst and Ernst which went in to [inaudible] It came out with some figures that are quite different in connection with the amount of money that had been misused or the amount of money that had disappeared. And I don't know whether, Mr. Chairman, [that it meets] the approval of the Senate of Mississippi that we might, at least, perhaps, we wouldn't want to place the whole report on the [inaudible]

CLARK: I suggest, Senator, that you extract such excerpts as you would care to have placed in the record, and, then, we will have them printed in the record at this point in the hearing.

JAVITS: Mr. Chairman, may...

CLARK: Senator Javits.

JAVITS: [inaudible] senator has the unanimous consent to do that [inaudible]

CLARK: I would not anticipate that he would [inaudible] the excerpts now. My thought was, unless there is an objection, that the Senator from New York would be given permission to place such parts of the Ernst and Ernst report in the record as he desires to do so.

KENNEDY: I just...I might just say to the Senator from Mississippi as we were talking about figures of 500 thousand and 650 thousand, and I, again, don't have any independent information in connection with this, but the report that was ultimately made, which was the audited financial statements and other financial information January 31, 1967, [inaudible] by Ernst and Ernst says that, "It is the opinion of the grantee of the counsel and its independent accountant that the amount, if any, ultimately disallowed by the Office of Economic Opportunity, after a proper consideration and evaluation of all factors pertaining to expenditures made by the grantee or its delegate agency under this grant, will be relatively minor in amount."

STENNIS: You...you say it's the opinion of whom? Did you say the opinion..

KENNEDY: Opinion of the auditor, Ernst and Ernst. They go into this whole question of the 500 thousand and the 650 thousand dollars and, basically, they don't find any substance to the charges and the allegations.

STENNIS: Well, I...

KENNEDY: Again I, Senator, I have not made the study myself. I just thought that, perhaps, in view of some of the charges in connection with it, that it would be well to have this audit placed in the records for reference so that we'd have a [inaudible] account of it.

CLARK: Thank you very much...

STENNIS: Well, I want to...I want to say this. It...has that been filed with the Senate Appropriations Committee? It certainly hasn't been called to my attention.

KENNEDY: It [inaudible] on January 31, 1967. And it was sent to the Board of Directors at the Mary Holmes Junior College, West Point, Mississippi March 15, 1967.

STENNIS: I want to ask Senator Kennedy this question. Does this...does this paper you have...does that pass on the rights? Their rights to make these expenditures?

KENNEDY: It goes into the whole question of the use of the automobiles. It goes into the question of the use of the teachers. I think, as I understand it, I've just had an opportunity for a short period of time to study it, Senator, but I understand it goes into all of the charges that were made in connection with [inaudible] organization and the misuse of funds. It does go into the question of whether the 500 thousand dollars was misused and the 650 thousand dollars disappeared, and it reaches the conclusion that that did not occur.

STENNIS: My information is...my information is that the instrument that your talking about does not pass on the rights...the right to make those expenditures. It traces the expenditures, perhaps. And I'm told it does not pass on the rights to do it. And it's strikingly strange to me that the general accounting office, I don't know that they ever did complete anything about it. But they, in substance, reported that they couldn't put enough together...couldn't put enough together to say anything right down to the last minute. These funds that have just been unaccounted for are floating around, and I believe, based on what I've been told about it, it...the original facts are correct. Any other point on that?

KENNEDY: The whole report is here...

STENNIS: Alright. Well, I don't object to the report, of course, but, I'd point out to the committee that sometimes there's been talk...I've heard talk of them excusing certain accounts or excusing certain expenditures. Under that method, you can balance any books.

KENNEDY: I don't think that's what the situation is here.

STENNIS: Well, I call that to your attention anyway [inaudible], and it's a mighty late date...it's a mighty late date, if it bears out what you say, to let those know about it, including the Senate Appropriations Committee, and I'm a member of it. It's another illustration of the mysterious way in which this independent agency operates.

CLARK: Members of the committee, Senator Stennis. The chair announced yesterday a press conference. We came down here to evaluate the poverty programs in Mississippi. We don't have too much time to do it. We've only got two days. I announced then, Senator, not knowing what you were going to say, that, because the CDGM matter was pretty much past history, there was only one relatively small incident in a very wide ranging program, that I thought it would be wiser not to spend an awful lot of time on that matter. Now, you're entirely within your rights in bringing it up. I respect you for doing it. Your testimony will be given the most careful consideration, but I want to get on in finding out what's right and what's wrong with the poverty program in Mississippi today. And with the permission of my colleagues...

CLARK: We're not going to have any applause in the audience, if you please. This is a quasi-judicial hearing. We intend to [preserve] the amenities. I merely want to make it clear for the record that, if my colleagues approve and with deep thanks to Senator Stennis for his testimony, we'd like to get on with the rest of the hearing.

??? Well, thank you very much.

CLARK: Senator Javits desires [to be heard]

JAVITS: Mr. Chairman, before the Senator goes, I believe, as Senator Kennedy and I have both referred, that the accountant's report should be marked as a subcommittee document...

CLARK: Well, [that's been done] Senator, let's not get into all [inaudible]

JAVITS: ...the status and, if he chooses to reply to it, that he be permitted [to do so].

CLARK: That will certainly be done. Thank you so much, Senator.

[WALES]: We'll return to the Victory Room in the Heidelberg Hotel in just a moment. Now we pause for a station identification.

[Break in tape.]

EZELL: My parents were always active in religious and community affairs, [such] it was natural for me to have an interest in these fields. I am proud of Jackson.

[WALES]: Back in the Olympic Room of the Heidelberg Hotel, now appearing before the subcommittee is Mr. Robert Ezell of Jackson, President of Mississippi [inaudible] Corporation. He is a board member of [STAR], the Jackson Head Start Advisory Board, and former President of Jackson Chamber of Commerce. Now, Mr. Ezell.

EZELL: ...Goodwill Industries, the United Givers Fund, the Jackson Rotary Club, and, in 1965, I served as President of the Jackson Chamber of Commerce. In all of these organizations, as in all of these organizations, my work in the poverty program has been motivated by the same ideals or desires to be of service. We have need of people to work in the poverty programs, and we, also, have a great opportunity to be of service to humanity in these programs. Before going into details, I would like to briefly comment on the misconception held by some that the reason most people are poor is because they're too lazy to work or do something about it. Those who hold this view have never looked closely at the problem. Since working in the anti-poverty programs and actually having seen the living conditions, the handicaps, the basic needs that these people have, I can no longer accept such statements. I can state through first hand, basic experience and contact with these people that they do not desire to be poor. They do not desire to be on welfare. It has been my experience that they desire to have the opportunity to become wage-earning, self-respecting citizens. No, the [cause] are deeper than laziness. They [inaudible] with such basic things as education, environment, opportunity and motivation. I feel, during the last two years, we in Jackson have learned enough about these problems to, now, attack them in a positive manner. Thus, I hope our program will not only be continued by Congress, but strengthened and improved by your investigations and studies. I have learned that poverty is definitely affected by education and by educational opportunities. A child...

[break in tape]

EZELL: ...a poverty home whose parents have had little educational background has strikes against him when he starts to school. My daughter's first grade teacher once told me that, in today's world, a child is not ready to enter the first grade unless he has attended kindergarten. The poverty child whose parents have had little education, and who, himself, has had no kindergarten or group experiences is badly handicapped when competing with other children when he starts to school. This gap widens each year until, in a few years, he becomes a school dropout and begins his own poverty cycle. The Head Start program attempts to break that cycle off at its [base] by giving the child and opportunity to compete at the first grade level or at the start of

school. In our Jackson project, Head Start project, which on the next funding will be the Hinds County Head Start Project, we are attempting to provide this opportunity for the child. We find that we have to do so in several ways. First, in the classroom, we try to help the child know and appreciate himself as an individual. Have you ever seen five-year-old children that don't know their own names? Well, I have. We have children come into our programs who only know themselves as Johnny, or brother or some other nickname. These children must learn to realize that they are important. They must learn to play and work as a member of the group. They must learn about the world about them. They are prepared, by learning experiences, for future schoolwork. Speech defect is one of the greatest handicaps. Many of these children have never heard words that some of them in our families grow up listening to as normal. They've never heard them in the home, and speech defect receives a lot of treatment in our programs. Speech therapy is practiced. Second, we must know if the child is physically fit for school or does he have some physical handicap that is going to hurt him or make it impossible for him to do school work. This is very important. Medical examinations and immunizations, many of these being given for the first time, are given to each child. In 1965, our local doctors and dentists gave 1200 children free examinations so that the money for the examinations could be used in remedial work in this program. Thanks to this generous gesture on the part of our professional men, over 400 children received remedial medical and dental treatment. One of my doctor friends told me, after participating in it, that, when he went to go down to give these examinations that night, he'd had a hard day and he was tired and he didn't want to go. He says when he left there at 10 o'clock at night he was rested. He felt that he had done something for humanity, and he went away from there feeling real good. How many of you have known children who have never used a knife or fork? Well, we have such children come into our programs, children who are five years old. He learns to use them as he receives hot, nourishing meals in this program. These help to build him physically as well as provide the teacher with an opportunity to teach good, nutritional habits. Fourth, we work with the parents. This work is carried on by social workers in the program and through organizational parent groups. Our parent groups meet once a week. They elect their own officers. They pick out subjects and things they're interested in and that can be of help to them, and we develop some fine projects in our parent groups. In this way, working hand in hand with parents, the environment of the child is improving. Working as a volunteer in a poverty program can be long, hard work, and we sometimes think it is a thankless job. However, when you see the changes that take place in these children within a short period of time, you know that it has all been worthwhile, and it, then, becomes a most rewarding experience. So, you can see Head Start attempts to snuff out the poverty cycle for future generations, but what about the adult that is caught up in this web already? Back in 1930, Mississippi was a very poor state. We had a per capita income average of less than 200 dollars

per year. It could not properly support its educational systems, and the Negro educational system suffered the most. In the 1941-42 school year, (and I quote from page 45, Statistical Data Bulletin 64, published by the Mississippi State Department of Education) the average Negro schoolteacher in Mississippi's pay was \$232.93 per year. Thus, one can recognize that the majority of the Negroes over 35 (and many Whites, actually, over this age) are either illiterate or semi-illiterate through no fault of their own. In fact, the 1960 census shows that Mississippi had 160,000 persons over 25 years of age who had only from a first to a fourth grade education. And they had 40,000 more who had no schooling at all. This is a total of 200,000. While our economy was primarily agricultural, these people were still employed at jobs on the farm. However, today, farms are becoming more and more mechanized. They are forc...and they are forcing these people to move to the city where their lack of education is a serious handicap. In fact, most are untrainable for modern industry. Here we have a lost generation of people needing help, who, with the educational tools and guidance, can become self-supporting, valuable members of our society. This is where the adult educational programs, such as [STAR], fit into the picture. The [STAR] program was funded through the Natchez-Jackson Diocese of the Roman Catholic Church to be an experimental program in adult education. Being a Protestant, I would like to express appreciation to the Catholic Church for making this program possible by providing their classrooms free of charge as their share of local contribution necessary to get the program funded. This program was designed for adults who possess less than fourth grade reading and arithmetic skills. Such people were given a three month training cycle in an effort to bring these skills to a sixth grade level or higher, and, thus, better equip them to meet today's world. After some experience in developing the program, we have found it necessary to increase the cycle to six months. We do feel that it is now, to a large degree, carrying out its mission in the educational field. [STAR], also, has a job development section seeking to work with both the trainee and employers in developing job openings for our trainees. This section has worked closely with the Mississippi Employment Security Commission. During [STAR's] short period of existence, it has placed 2,124 trainees or non-trainees in jobs. Now, these non-trainees are persons whom we have tested and found to be too high to enter our program as far as their educational level was concerned, but those who have applied we have tried to help, and we have followed through on this placing some of them and being of help to them in obtaining jobs. It has placed 1,131 trainees and non-trainees in MDTA and referred 6,047 trainees and non-trainees to Mississippi Employment Security Commission. This type of adult education is needed throughout the state. It is my hope that community action programs, which are now being set up, can use our experience and build on these programs...build these programs throughout each county in the state. In [STAR], as in Head Start, you have to go to the classroom to fully appreciate this program. You have to see the effort that it takes for someone who is an adult to learn to read and

write as they struggle with the pencil and the hard work that they're doing. You have to experience the pride of accomplishment that is present when you are at a graduating class. You're emotionally moved when someone tells you, "I feel like a man now. I can read and write." Or someone else tells you with tears of gratitude, "[STAR] has been a miracle in my life." Surely, experiences of these kind grow on your heart and make this work worthwhile. In your letter you requested that we assess the strengths and weaknesses of the anti-poverty program along with recommendations for the future. In my mind the strengths of the program are as follows: 1. They have given a renewed hope and challenge to many who, at this point, felt overwhelmed and discouraged. 2. Despite the haste with which they were thrown together, most programs have met a definite need in a positive way. 3. They have improved race relations by providing programs in which members of all races could work together in seeking solutions to problems which have plagued our society. Some of its weaknesses are (and I think the most important weakness really) is the number one I have listed here, the uncertainty of future programs. This is a basic weakness. Most are funded for a short time only, thus, limiting their attraction for top staff personnel. This makes a real problem in staffing the programs. 2. The length of time it takes to write up a proposal and get it through the various OEO offices. 3. The need for professional help in preparing proposals. 4. The pressure to start a program immediately after it is funded. No personnel, now, you remember, can be hired until the program is funded, a process that sometimes takes you about six months getting a program through, and, then, within two weeks, you expect to have a program going. And this is an impossibility. 5. A misunderstanding regarding the meaning of maximum [feasible] participation of the target area of people on the board has a tendency to eliminate from the governing body professional people whose special skills would be valuable to the program. My recommendations would be: 1. Redefine the lines of communication. There is entirely too much duplication and confusion between the various OEO offices of state, regional and national. 2. Simplify the methods and forms for application for funds. Also, speed up the process for handling them. 3. There is a pressing need for intensive, long-term training personnel...training of personnel within all of the programs. We need to be upgrading and training our personnel all the time in these programs. 4. Set up a strong inspector general's office composed of qualified inspectors to operate out of the Washington office and eliminate duplicating functions from the regional section. 5. We need maximum community participation, especially from our professional people, such as the doctors, the educators, the ministers, and those agencies that are working with the poor. The maximum feasible participation [clause] should be tempered toward developing a balance in governing board between the target area people and the above community people. The target area people are important to have on the board. It really helps the board to fully understand the problems, but it is, also, equally important to balance them off with people in the community that can be

helpful in meeting needs. The whole concept of the war on poverty is new to both the governments and to its citizens. It is natural for some areas to be [inaudible]. However, we have learned much about the depth of the problems that we face and the need for solutions. I ask that Congress not abandon this war, but provide better weapons with which we can successfully see it through. Thank you.

CLARK: Thank you very much, Mr. Ezell, for what, to me, is a most helpful and analytical statement. I think you've done a real service to the community. Senator Javits.

JAVITS: I'd like to join with my colleague, the Chairman, in saying that I, too, feel that this is a very worthwhile service. It is very important, I think, to [turn] to the country the face of those elements in Mississippi which have a serious, unprejudiced and nondiscriminatory purpose in their hearts which I think...I feel that from what you've said.

EZELL: Thank you, sir.

JAVITS: I might tell you that I can sympathize with you about [STAR], because I saw my mother at 65 learn to read and write English and have exactly the same [reactions] that you've described

EZELL: It's quite touching to watch this.

JAVITS: I know it well. Now, I just have a few questions. On the cost question, in Head Start, what is the funded cost per pupil?

EZELL: I do not have those figures here. Let me say this, though, that to compare the cost of a Head Start program with that of the public schools is not fair. This is like comparing oranges and apples, because the Head Start...the Head Start child is a deprived child to start off with. You not only, in this program, are providing for the child, but you're trying to do something for the conditions around him which deals with the adult. And you are taking a child that is more deprived and has to have more done for him in order to give him the proper background or ability to fit in. I don't think this is quite fair to compare the two...

JAVITS: You're establishing two principals, Mr. Ezell, both of which are important. You heard Senator Stennis' testimony just like I did. One is, to run a real Head Start program, considering the almost primitive condition in which you find these children, so many thousands of them, you have to deal, also, with their home environment and parents. Is that correct, [inaudible]

EZELL: Yes, this is right.

JAVITS: [inaudible] a legitimate aspect of the Head Start cost per child, you would say?

EZELL: Yes, sir. I think it's necessary.

JAVITS: And second, as to [orders of magnitude]. Now, recognizing that Mississippi's expenditures are, roughly speaking, one-half of the national average per pupil. The fact is that...are you telling us that [it's a] fact that in [orders of magnitude] you've got to expect, even with the best administration, to spend...what would you say? Twice? Three times?

EZELL: Well, for example, in city schools you may have one teacher with a...one teacher to every 25 or 30 pupils, sometimes a little higher. Also, the school buildings are there. They're provided by the tax dollar. In a Head Start program, you are going to have to have at least one teacher to every 15 children if you're going to do this type of program properly and make up some of the lack that these children have. Then there's the question of nourishment where food is supplied the child. This comes into it, too.

JAVITS: Well, as a reasonable man and a businessman, give me an order of [magnitude] of expenditure in Head Start which you would consider reasonably justifiable. Twice, three times the average expenditure per pupil in normal programs, or what? How does it strike you?

EZELL: I, frankly, would not be in a position to answer this question, Senator Javits, because I do not know the cost of the schools, and I'm not fully appreciative of the total cost per child of the various Head Start programs.

JAVITS: But it is materially high?

EZELL: It is materially high.

JAVITS: And justifiably.

EZELL: Yes, I think so.

JAVITS: Now, you mentioned the need for an admixture of professional people in the community organization, from the management side of the...Now, is it a fact that this presents unique difficulty in a state like Mississippi if you wish to honor the intent of the [act] for an integrated situation, because so few Negroes are professional people. Isn't that true?

EZELL: I wouldn't say that as altogether true. It has not been true here in Jackson. It may be true in some other areas, and I'm only talking about the Jackson experience.

??? Will the Senator yield?

JAVITS: Yes.

??? It is my understanding, Mr. [inaudible], that in many parts of the country legal services [inaudible] are quite an important matter in the poverty programs. My understanding is that there are only four Negro lawyers in Mississippi. Is that correct?

EZELL: I'm not familiar with the statistics on that.

??? Are you familiar with the two legal programs which are being carried on in the state?

EZELL: Not...not too well informed on them. I know that there are programs here, but I'm not in on them. Let me...let me answer this question just a little bit further about what I'm talking about on professional skills and so forth. In our local Head Start program, for example, we have 10 committees. These committees...I'm trying to find a...well, that's alright. I don't see it right here, but I started to look up a list. But these committees delve into one educational. One is medical. One is the social welfare part of it, and so on. Various things that fit into the program. Now, for the educational, we have personnel, and we have a member of each race that's co-chairman of these committees. We have, for example, educational...we have as the co-chairman a man...a head of the educational department from Millsaps College, a white college, and from Jackson State, a negro college. We have doctors from both races as head of that committee. We have lawyers from both races as head of that committee. We have ministers from both races serving on this. We have people who have had experience in the publicity field serving on the public relations. In addition to that, we have on the board two members from each center who were elected to the board by fellow parents. In other words, we had 10 centers. I'm speaking of the past program now. This will be broadened out as it goes out into the county. But we had a board of 40, 10 of which were professional or semi-professional persons. I mean, 20 of which were professional or semi-professional persons, and 20 of which were from the poverty target area itself.

JAVITS Mr. Ezell, I'm running out of my time here, because we're trying to be modest about our time allocation. The point of my question is this. As the chair has noted, and as I have indicated, there are many professional categories, lawyers for example, [inaudible] too few to go around considering the heritage that this state is now suffering from where this opportunity was, for many decades, denied to Negroes. Now a question. Would you object, within the context of your recommendation, if it proves to be impossible to find an adequate representation of professional people within your state to be adequately representative of the races, if out of state

professionals were put on these boards where need be in order to give a proper representation?

EZELL: I would say that the...I would...I would feel that we should exhaust what we have in the state first before turning to out of state.

JAVITS: Well, I would agree with that, but, nonetheless, having exhausted it, you still can't make the grade, then is their any basic, principle objection to finding them elsewhere? [It's, after all,] the United States...

EZELL: If a person is truly interested in the poverty person and in the program as it is set up, I would have no objection.

JAVITS: Thank you, Mr. Ezell.

CLARK: Senator Kennedy.

KENNEDY: [inaudible] join my colleagues in congratulating you, not only on your statements, but also what, indicated by your statements and what I've heard before of your personal participation and efforts on behalf of your fellow citizens in your state. I think it's [not only] an example of which Mississippi can be proud, but really all the rest of the country, the efforts which you've made and the efforts that your colleagues have made in order to help those who are less fortunate.

EZELL: Thank you, sir.

KENNEDY: I want to compliment you on that, and, also, I think that it should be understood as we ask you questions that we represent all the areas where there might be different problems, but we all have problems, and we don't come to the state of Mississippi to criticize, but, really, to learn more about what you're doing and we're going to go into each one of our own states where we'll find that there are tremendous difficulties and that we haven't been entirely successful and our people haven't been successful. But I think all of us working together and exchanging knowledge and information [inaudible] out of that, as the Chairman has pointed out on a number of occasions, out of that will come a better poverty program. [inaudible] I think there have been...I was interested in your discussion about the training of individuals who have lacked literacy in the past and who have lacked a proper education. We've had these manpower training programs across the United States. I'm interested in whether you feel they are successful and effective. I saw your figure that you had referred some 6,000 people to the Mississippi State Employment Agency. Was that it?

EZELL: Yes, sir.

KENNEDY: I was wondering if you could tell us out of that 6,000, or approximately 6,000, how many of those are actually employed at the present time?

EZELL: No, sir, I couldn't actually. You're going to have someone here from the Employment Security Commission, and I think that he could give you more information on that. Let me say this about the STAR program. It is a program that, originally, in its conception, was pointed more educational-wise than it was job-wise. We are changing that emphasis somewhat. But by its...the contract...you do have a difficult time from the job angle in that we have to take persons, adults, between the ages of 18 and And you have to take the heads of households which means that this is, generally, the older person that is unemployed and the head of a household. Second, in our present society, in particular in the Negro society in the South, the...too frequently, the lady of the house is the person who is the head of the house. In other words, it's a female matriarchal society you might say. Therefore, if you look at the fact that in our classes we have had approximately 30 per cent over the age of 45. Those people are not going to be too employable, and what we are able to do for them is not, actually, going to show up as much there as it may in other ways of life that they may get out of this program. For example, we have seen instances where they have taken considerably more interest in their children getting proper education once they have been involved in STAR. Second, there is that it is much more difficult to place a female worker than it is a male worker.

KENNEDY: [inaudible] significance, then, the figure of 6,000 has been referred to the [inaudible]

EZELL: I don't know how many they have been able to place. I would say it's significant that we have placed as many as we have considering the start of these people, because, you see, we can't take them if they've got more than a fourth grade education to start off with.

KENNEDY: I'm, again, interested in that, because I think that there are, not only here in Mississippi but, again, elsewhere around the country, the question whether there are manpower development training programs that are run either state level or run by federal funds are effective and whether they, actually, place the individuals who are [inaudible]

EZELL: Well, the manpower training programs start at, approximately, a ninth grade level. We've got to bring a good many up pretty far to be able to get them in to that, and the fact that we've gotten as many in as we have, I think, has been significant. Let me say this. I do feel that we have gotten cooperation out of the various agencies such as the Employment Security Commission. We've, also, gotten a great deal of cooperation out of the health facilities of the state, because a person can't be employed if he's not physically fit, and we have gotten the health department to give physical examinations to all

STAR trainees when they come in. We've worked to get glasses for people who could not see too well and worked on the hearing problem, too.

KENNEDY: I think that on this point and, also on the last point that you made in your statement (and I'd like to have your comment on it) which is we look back on...

END OF SIDE 1

AU 1058 – SIDE 2

KENNEDY: ...come in and tell the people in the local communities that this is what you need in order to make the kind of progress that we in the rest of the state and we in the rest of the country would like to see you make. [To try] to get away from that with this idea of community participation, so that people would have the responsibility for their own program. To develop their own program and they would sit down and examine and analyze what the problem was and then they would...

[Break in tape]

KENNEDY: [inaudible] funding. [inaudible] the philosophy behind the poverty program, and it hasn't always been effective or successful whether it's here in Mississippi or elsewhere. But we've heard testimony and traveled around the country. Where we found effective and successful programs is where the people in the localities feel that they have the responsibility and where the manpower and training has been unsuccessful is where you just come in and have it funded with federal funds, and the people of the locality can come and stay or leave as they see fit. But, if some of their own funds in their local communities are, also, involved, they feel that they have much greater...they feel that they're much more involved, and therefore, the issue of whether it's going to be successful or not is much more important to them. So, I get back to the, again, the question of your training program and, also, the whole point of the community action where you talk about the fact that some of the local professional people should be involved. As we've heard the discussion...

[Break in tape]

KENNEDY: [inaudible] professional advice and efforts and [backing of others] and with some federal funds involved, whether that philosophy is not going to, in the long run, be much more successful and effective than the philosophy, again, of the Washington or an outside group coming in and saying, "This is what

you should do.” That, I think, is the struggle that’s taking place in Mississippi, and also, the struggle that is taking place in New York and elsewhere around the country, and I just wonder if you would make some comment of what your philosophy is [inaudible] and what your own experience has been and whether you think this is one of the struggles that is taking place in the state at the present time.

EZELL: There should be participation from the local level, I think, in these programs to be successful. I don’t think that the whole program can be handed down from Washington and say, “This is what you need. This is what we’re going to do for you.” Now, we’re getting a little further down into the local breakdown. I regret that, in some instances, local communities have not taken initiative or some citizens in communities may not have to where there may not have not been as much participation locally as there should be. However, it has been our experience, both in Head Start and STAR, that the target area people make a real contribution on the board and that, likewise, there has been a need for professional people working with them to put across the type of program that you begin to understand are needed. Does this cover what you’re getting at?

KENNEDY: [inaudible] Thank you, again.

CLARK: Senator Murphy.

MURPHY: I thank you and congratulate you on your testimony, particularly on your recommendations which are very clear and distinct and obviously, well thought out and well [inaudible] I like to ask if you have any idea of the amount of money that has been used through the funding of [inaudible] the STAR program?

EZELL: I didn’t quite understand.

MURPHY: How much money has STAR had to use in the last two years?

EZELL: The total program funding was in the neighborhood of seven million dollars. I believe there’s approximately five million dollars through OEO, and two million through the labor, Department of Labor. It’s in the neighborhood of seven million.

MURPHY: And there was a commingling of funds through the Department of Labor and OEO in order to fund STAR?

EZELL: Yes, sir.

MURPHY: Right.

EZELL: Yes, sir.

MURPHY: Now, when you set up your program, did you set it up or was it set up in Washington or did people from either Labor or OEO come and tell you how to set up the program?

EZELL: It was...I think it was set up jointly between governmental people and interested people in this area. The first inkling I had in regard to this program was when Father Watts, a very dedicated Roman Catholic priest, came to me to discuss this idea and asked me if I would sit in with a few people to discuss it and see what could be worked out locally, and I did have that privilege. Certainly, we helped determine a large part of the program, but we had people out of Washington that met with us and helped, too.

MURPHY: The point of my question is, [and one that I continue to stress] to find out how much control over the local program should be arranged by local citizens and how much control should be remotely controlled in Washington. We're trying to evaluate this in writing a new law. And I would guess from your answer that at least 50 per cent of the [suggestion] of what is, obviously, a successful program has been contributed by local people. Would that [be a fair statement]?

EZELL: Now, your...as I answered this, it was at the start of the program. I think after the local people have been working in these programs sometime, I think that they can see needs and come up with even better programs than we start out with from original suggestions. I do feel, though, that Washington, who funds the program, should have definite, tight inspection controls of that program.

MURPHY: How many have there been in this STAR training program? Do you know?

EZELL: I'd have to look that up. I think I have it here.

CLARK: [inaudible] Mr. Ezell can finish that for the record. We're already 45 minutes behind our schedule.

MURPHY: [Perfectly willing. I've finished the questioning.] I'd like to have, if possible, how many have been in the training program and how many have been able to be successfully employed [afterwards] to get an idea [what actual] accomplishments have been made there. Thank you.

EZELL: Thank you, sir.

CLARK: Thank you, Mr. Ezell. We're very grateful to you. We are running almost

45 minutes late and I think the committee is most anxious to hear all witnesses, and, to give you ample time, we're going to try to speed it up a little bit.

[WALES]: We pause now for station identification.

CLARK: ...the Chairman of the Mississippi State Advisory Committee, the United States Civil Rights Commission. Dr. Britton, we're very happy to have you here. Do you have a prepared statement? Do you have a prepared statement?

BRITTON: I have a statement, in part, that I wish to read. I was informed that I could present my statement either way.

CLARK: We'd be grateful to you if you would [inaudible] your full statement, which will be printed [inaudible], and to the extent that you can do so without handicapping what you want to tell us, would be [glad] if you'd summarize it. We're not going to cut you short, so you go ahead.

BRITTON: Alright, sir. Thank you, Senator, and to the Chairman and the rest of the members of the committee. I wish to express my appreciation to you for having given me this opportunity to appear before this committee. I am engaged in the practice of medicine here in the city of Jackson and have been for the past 17 or 18 years. I am a member and Chairman of the Mississippi State Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights...

[WALES]: Preparing to give a statement now to the committee is Dr. A. B. Britton, physician of Jackson. He is Chairman of the Mississippi State Advisory to U. S. Civil Rights Commission. He is giving his biography and now here is Dr. Britton.

BRITTON: ...gathering committee. We have gone in the state of Mississippi since 1959 with the State Advisory Committee to all sections of this state. We have held 15 public meetings and three conferences, all for the purpose of gathering facts on discrimination. The early activities of the committee were primarily concerned with questions of denial and deprivation of the administration of justice in [voting]. During the last two years, however, the committee has turned its attention to matters relating to economic security of the individual. We have held closed meetings and consultations with major employers in several sections of the state. We have met with administrators of federal and state agencies operating here in this state, and we have met with officials of the public schools and many junior colleges. This year we have held two major activities relating to economic security. In January, we conducted a conference on employment and training opportunities in 12 southeastern Mississippi counties. Over 400 persons

attended the daylong session to participate in a workshop session with employers and job-training officials. For the first time, many Negro citizens in this section of the state had an understanding of the type of skills being sought by employers and the programs which are available to prepare them for employment. We will continue our activities in that area in an effort to develop a continuing line of communication between Negro citizens and persons who hire or train people for employment. On February 17, 1967, we conducted an open meeting to appraise four federal-assisted public assistant welfare programs, work experience and training programs, and the two food programs to be found here in the state. Over 700 persons attended this session, which lasted 16 ½ hours, and heard federal and state officials and welfare experts who described and analyzed the strengths and weaknesses of these programs. Over 50 effective citizens from throughout the state appeared before the committee to offer testimony regarding inadequacies and infractions of law in administering these programs. These experiences and the first-hand information of the various committee members lead me to believe that the major problem facing Mississippi citizens today, especially the poor citizens, relate to questions dealing with economic dependence. Now, in 1965, the total population of the state was roughly 2 million 300,000. Of that amount, the Negro composed 42 per cent of this. We believe that most of our economic and other social problems revolve around the fact that our economy is so heavily dependent on agriculture and a dying crop like cotton, and, for this reason and others, we continue to be the poorest state in the union. In 1957, the average income of the state, per capita income was 1,040 dollars. This was 1,000 dollars less than for the nation as a whole. In 1965, it was 1,608 for Mississippians and this, still, was less than...was more than 1,000 dollars less than the nation as a whole. When we compare the economic status of Negroes with Whites in the state, the picture becomes more tragic. In 1960, 37 per cent of all non-white families and 10 per cent of all white families had an income of 1000 dollars. Among non-white farm families, four out of five, or 81.3 per cent, lived on less than 2000 dollars a year, and more than half made do on less than 1000 dollars a year. Of non-white individuals, farm residents with incomes, 56 per cent had incomes of less than 500 dollars a year. Recent studies indicate that as a result of changes in the cotton allotment, increasing mechanization, and the growing unprofitable, or unprofitability of small farm units, approximately 200,000 farm workers and their families have been displaced during the past 20 years. And there is every indication that this years upwards to as much 100,000 people will be displaced. With respect to education in this state, the median education for a person over 25 years of age was 8.9 years as contrasted to 10.6 years for the nation. Of the non-white population 25 years of age and over, seven out of 10 had not completed elementary school. Of all 18 year olds examined for a military service from July 1964, through December 1965, 81.4 per cent of rejections were for Negroes and 39 point...39 per cent for White. The rejection rate for failure to meet minimal requirements only was 79.5 per cent for

Negroes. Bleak as these statistics are, they are not adequately...they do not adequately portray the depth of the tragedy experienced by disadvantaged Mississippi citizens, especially the Negro. During the last two years, this committee has heard many of these experiences on a first-hand basis from hundreds of persons. Early in this presentation, I mentioned about the 200,000 farm workers being displaced in the last 20 years. Now, what is more important is what happens to these people who are displaced. What are their choices? They are limited. They can leave the community where they have lived all of their lives and go to the city in the North or in other parts of the country. If they are lucky, they may be permitted to remain on the plantation and exist on public and private charity. What does the federal, state or local government do? What do they do to assist these individuals? In too many cases, they do nothing. Or what little it does is generally inadequate. I would like to take this opportunity to illustrate to you what happens to an individual who is displaced by describing the experiences of a typical individual as the story comes to us. Take, for example, an able-bodied 37-year-old male who has been told that he no longer can remain on this plantation and chop cotton for three dollars a day. Now, he lives with his wife and has four children. He resides on a shack on the plantation where he may have electricity and well water, etcetera. But it is made clear to him he must get rid of any livestock that he may have, and that he will not be able to have a garden. He can no longer get credit at the local grocery store, so where does he turn for assistance? He checks around and finds that none of the plantations have need of a person to chop cotton, and there are no factories in town. None of the businesses in the county need a full-time [porter] or janitor. So he finds that he cannot get a job. He has heard that the factories are hiring people on the Gulf Coast, but he must have a high school diploma and be able to pass the test to be eligible for such employment. He has a fifth grade education or less and may not be able to read and write. If he could pass the test, there is chance that he would not be hired, because he is a Negro. He goes to the welfare office and finds that there are only four welfare programs in existence in the state, all of which are federally assisted. He is told that he is not old enough for old age assistance; that, since he is not disabled, he cannot get aid to the permanently disabled; that, since he is not blind, he cannot get aid to the blind; and that, since he is living with his family, his family cannot get aid to dependent children. He learns that Mississippi has not enacted [enabling] legislation providing for aid to families of dependent children where there is an unemployed father. Someone tells him that Mississippi has no state or locally financed meaningful emergency relief program. He learns something of work called work experience and training, but most of the training slots are for menial jobs that will not be a job for him when he finishes his training. Or, if he gets a job, the job will not pay him enough to maintain a minimum standard of living. He, then, goes to try to get some surplus commodities, and he is told that no longer has the program...is the program in existence. We are now using stamps. But he does not have the money to

buy the stamps. While attending a meeting of [inaudible] community leaders, he [attended] some civil rights activities, and he learns about these development and training programs which have been operating for several months. He, however, learns that the program consists of literacy training, and that, when he has completed the training, he cannot get skill training and that no job would be available. Now, his wife, if she should happen to get sick, then there is a need for medical services. And, at this point, inasmuch as I would ask to make comments on that, I would like to inject what this same individual would come across, the bleak statistics concerning the health services, because this is very vital and pertains to the problems connected with the health examinations of the Head Start children. In this state, there are twice as many immature babies among Negro than White. Among Whites, over 99 per cent of live births are in hospitals. Among non-whites, only 56 per cent of live births are in hospitals. Among Whites, 92 per cent of fetal deaths were delivered in hospitals, but among non-whites 70 per cent of fetal deaths occur in hospitals. Now, this is a reflection upon the way medical services are being dispensed in the state as pertains to race. It simply means that the non-white mother are not receiving equal services to white mothers. It further means that, at least in some instances and in some area, the Negro mother has to be sicker just to get in a hospital. Once she gets there, she will find that her in-hospital fetal death rate compares with her in-hospital live death rate 70 per cent versus 56 per cent. Now, in 1964, Mississippi had 2,784 fetal deaths. 1,220 of these were white and 1,564 were non-white. The white population is 58 per cent, roughly, but it has 43 per cent of the fetal deaths. The non-white population is 42 per cent, and it has 57 per cent of the fetal deaths. This means that there are over twice as many non-white fetal death as white fetal death. Of the number of live births among Whites, only 3/10 of a percent is delivered by a midwife, but of the total number among Negroes, 40 per cent is delivered by a midwife. Infant mortality rate among Negroes is over twice as high as Whites. Also, from one month to one year of age, the white baby has a better survival rate. The death rate of the Negro group of this age is five times that of the white infant. This is a serious reflection...

KENNEDY: [inaudible] one of the figures that you gave [inaudible] three figures you said that you gave a percentage, but you didn't give the actual figures. The mortality rate of children. Do you have that?

BRITTON: The mortality rate...infant mortality rate among Negroes, I say, is twice as high as that among the Whites.

KENNEDY: Do you have the figure?

CLARK: How many?

BRITTON: Yes.

KENNEDY: How many per thousand? Do you have that?

BRITTON: I have this that I can get and leave with you. I have it right here.

KENNEDY: [I don't want] to waste your time, I just...

CLARK: Please furnish it for the record, Doctor.

BRITTON: Yes, sir.

KENNEDY: And then you went on the give some percentages, [but didn't] give the exact figures...

BRITTON: Well, I gave you figures. I was talking about fetal death. I gave you figures and percentages on that. [inaudible] down to live births, and you would like to have figures. I only gave you percentages on that.

KENNEDY: [That's right.] And the next figure you gave on...

BRITTON: Infant mortality.

KENNEDY: Infant mortality. You just gave percentages [inaudible]

BRITTON: I just gave percentages on that, and I will supply you with the exact figures.

KENNEDY: Could we have that this morning sometime?

BRITTON: Yes, sir. Also, from one month to one year of age, the white baby has a better survival rate. The death rate of the Negro group of this age is five times that of the white infant.

???

BRITTON: Again, we'd like the figures.

BRITTON: I have the figures. [inaudible] This is a serious reflection on the medical services in this state, especially the public health service. The leading cause of death in the Negro child of this age group is pneumonia and diarrhea and these are preventable. Now, efforts of the Mississippi State Board of Health shows that the examinations conducted in 1965, 1,777 physical defects of infants and preschool children were detected and corrected. Through school health services, 18,360 defects were detected and corrected. So, in 1965, the Mississippi State Board of Health detected and corrected a total of approximately 20,000 defects in preschool and school children. This is out of a total population of approximately 800,000 children. Assuming (and I don't have the exact figures) but assuming that 25 per cent of these are from

the poor and assuming the State Board of Health continues its present effort, then it would take it 10 years to correct and detect the health defects of this group provided poor people stopped having babies for 10 years.

CLARK: Doctor, could you tell us how many physicians there are in Mississippi? How many Whites and how many Blacks? How many Negroes?

BRITTON: Yes, sir. There are approximately 55 Negro physicians and approximately 2,000 white physicians .

CLARK: Do you have any figures on the number of registered nurses, Black and White?

BRITTON: Not registered nurses, but I have some figures to support just a few more statistics, and I'm about through with on here.

??? Right.

BRITTON: If you'll allow me, sir. So, obviously, the State Board of Health as presently constituted couldn't do the examinations on the poor people. And I'm bringing this up because the people who are enrolled in the Head Start programs are poor people that need examinations, and their health's going to have to be corrected by somebody. And the point that I'm trying to make is that the Health Departments in this state are not going to be able to correct them, so we're going to have to look elsewhere. Now, the bleak statistics that I gave you concerning 40 per cent of the births, live births, of Negroes being delivered by midwives, and midwives are supposed to be outlawed in this state other than, and the way I understand it, that no new license pardon me, will be given to midwives. But I understand there are 900 midwives in this state and, if that be true, there are 20 times more midwives in this state than Negro doctors. There are two times as many white doctors than midwives. There are 40 times as many white doctors as Negro doctors. There is only one Negro enrolled in the only Mississippi medical school, and there was none there before this school term. So, if we will go back to the story I was giving you about this man who is having all this difficulty because of he is being thrown off the plantation, I would like to...for you to keep in mind about the bleak statistics concerning the health aspect. Now, this man's children discontinue attending school, because he can't buy shoes and clothing for them to wear. And the power company turns off the electricity before he's thrown off the place, and he's finally told he's got to move. But he wants to maintain any dignity and sanity and...that he can, so his best alternative is to leave his family so that he will be eligible for aid to dependent children. He, then, goes North or some other part of the country to get a part-time job. If this wife...if his wife can prove that his children are deprived of a father, she may be able to get a maximum of 85 dollars a month for aid to dependent children assistance. For the

children to remain eligible, however, the father must not send them any money. It is a tragic day when a man must leave his family in order for them to get this type of service. During the last several years, we have had an opportunity to [inaudible] many of the poverty programs which are designed to break the poverty cycle and make it possible for people to exist with [inaudible]. We have reluctantly come to the conclusion that the programs available in Mississippi are inadequate, and participants frequently experience discrimination in the programs. We believe that most of the programs existing in this state today are inadequately designed to deal with the problems of the magnitude of the situation here in this state.

CLARK: Does that complete your statement, doctor?

BRITTON: I have recommendations that I would like to make, sir.

CLARK: Please do.

BRITTON: The first recommendation that I would like to make while I'm looking for this is that OEO be...seek to double its funding. There's entirely not enough money available for the programs needed in this state.

CLARK: Let me ask you, doctor, are you satisfied you have the available manpower to wisely spend the government appropriation?

BRITTON: The manpower here in this state?

CLARK: Yes.

BRITTON: Yes, sir. I'm satisfied, because I do not ascribe to what some do that you must have a certain amount of education before these people are trainable and before that they can be used in an administrative position. It is my philosophy, concerning this matter, that we must not put the cart before the horse. To train the Negro who is out of a job, or poor people who are out of a job and are off the plantation, to train them for some job that they are not going to get, because there's a great amount of disillusionment on the part of these people. So I would suggest that what we need to do is establish programs maybe, if not this committee, seek efforts in the United States Senate to establish programs that will come up with programs that will provide jobs. Now, this probably will have to be in cooperation with the industry that we have in this state, but we must take these people and give them some on the job training first. And, then, we must try to educate those people. These people need work now. The primary thing that they need are food, housing and jobs. Education is way down the list on this. The way to provide them with food now is to give them some free stamps. They are not able to pay for them. Some provision must be made through modifying the law so that they will get free stamps. Now, I know the matter of housing is a

big thing, but some way we're going to have to use low rent subsidy and some other means of providing housing for these people to keep them out of slum areas. And, of course, I'd like to...

[Break in tape]

BRITTON: ...recommendations concerning what do you do for them concerning health, providing them with health services. The first thing to do is that, since so many people are dying at early ages and since it doesn't make sense to try to train doctors and bring doctors in the state, that the first thing you do is set up a training program for the 900 midwives that you have. Immediately, somebody should request funds for training them so that the 40 per cent of the children that they deliver will have a better chance of survival. In addition to that, I think that the federal government should place, at least, one physician of United States public health service status in every county in this state. We do not have health offices in this state now or in number adequate enough to take care the burden that is already on them. There are, at least, five or six counties that do not have any health officer at all. Then, I think we should come up with long-range programs such as setting aside money for recruiting people from the poverty group to go into the profession of medicine and nurse and allied professions of this sort. These would be your long-range programs. This, to my idea, would help to take care of the three things that I mentioned that are giving the poor people in this state the most trouble. And, gentlemen, thank you very much.

CLARK: Thank you very much, doctor, for a most illuminating statement. Senator Javits.

JAVITS: Doctor Britton, I thank you, too, for this very fine statement. [inaudible] Mississippi Advisory Committee of the Civil Rights Commission. This is no easy assignment to carry, and you've certainly rendered enormous service in that regard. Now, I'd like to ask you this question. As to this...as to the problem of the need for food stamps, isn't it a fact that you're harmed not so much by the fact that food stamps need to be paid for as the fact that the law now says that, if a county takes on the food stamp plan, it no longer can distribute surplus foods further? Is that correct?

BRITTON: That is one of the problems, sir.

JAVITS: So with either one [inaudible], in other words, if a county was not required to forego the distribution of surplus food, or [inaudible] for appropriate cases, get the money to enable them to [inaudible] the food stamps? Is that correct?

BRITTON: Yes, Mr....Senator Javits, the situation is this. Where you have the food

stamps in an area, the commodities have been cut off altogether and the people have no food at all, a good deal of them. They can't buy this, so I'm recommending that free food stamps be made available, or, if that would not be possible, keep the commodities.

JAVITS: Well, now, can this be administered, in your judgment, in a nondiscriminatory way by county agencies or will they use them as an element of discrimination against those who might participate in civil rights activities, etc.?

BRITTON: It cannot be administered by the present agencies that have been administering these programs.

JAVITS: Now, what about the federal agencies which might be put in? Are they so locally staffed that you'd be up against the same problem? In other words, is the staffing of the federal agency so composed of local people who would, also, be under the same general frame of reference that they'd work the same way?

BRITTON: In some instances that would be true, but you would have better policing mechanism if it was done this way and I would strongly recommend it.

JAVITS: So it could be done correctly with federal agencies on the local level?

BRITTON: Correct, sir.

JAVITS: Now, as to...as to employment opportunity. What do you find to be the situation in the poverty programs themselves, for example, which is federally financed [here]. Is employment opportunity extended in a nondiscriminatory way?

BRITTON: No, sir. I...the first statistics that we have been...testimony that have come before our committee, the answer would have to be no. We have one instance after another where people claim that they are discriminated against.

JAVITS: Well, what do you think there is... is there any substance to these claims?

BRITTON: We...I feel so, sir.

JAVITS: You do?

BRITTON: Yes, sir.

JAVITS: Well, what do you think should be done about it?

- BRITTON: Now, if you could be more specific concerning any one particular program that you may be speaking of.
- JAVITS: Well, you furnish me the program in which you think there's discrimination. Tell me what you think ought to be done about it.
- BRITTON: The work experience training programs. We have had, recently, testimony concerning that the negroes have been given a lot of work and no training. And that, when the training that they do get is over, they have no job placement. Now, I am told that approximately 90 per cent of the people enrolled in these programs, some of them anyway, are negroes, and that they are just not able to get jobs after they have been trained.
- JAVITS: Well, now, what kind of training would you say is the most significant in that category? Training for what jobs?
- BRITTON: We have had reports concerning training as relates to nurse training.
- JAVITS: Negro girls that are trained as nurses can then not get a job?
- BRITTON: Practical nurses, now, nurses' aids.
- JAVITS: Cannot get a job?
- BRITTON: They are being discriminated against in getting these jobs. They are placed in places where there are privately owned nursing homes many times, and they are not trained to really fill a vacuum of...which is needed in the state. They are not given the type of professional training that they ought to have in which they could make a contribution to the community and maintain themselves after the programs are all over.
- JAVITS: Well, that...the fact that they are not given the right kind of training, after all, is not equivalent to discrimination in getting the job once trained. You said that there is discrimination in the practical nursing field in getting the job once trained. Is that correct, or did I understand you correctly?
- BRITTON: This was an example, and I have others that I will supply you with. The statistics that we have collected on this is filed in the U. S. Commission's Civil Rights Office. I have transcript on those. It's a voluminous type thing. I will pick out the statistics that you have asked for and include this, if you permit me as part of this record.
- CLARK: We'd be happy to have you do that
- JAVITS: I just have two other questions, Dr. Britton. One. Isn't it a fact that all of

this structure which you've described, the poverty and inadequacy and inability to scale these slippery walls is built up by the lack of qualifications which is endemic for decades of suppression and deprivation of equal opportunity to learn anything? Is that correct?

BRITTON: That's correct in part, sir.

JAVITS: Well, now, what else is there that contributes to that? You say it's correct in part.

[Break in tape]

BRITTON: [inaudible] in this area racism enters the picture.

JAVITS: Well, that's what I said. The lack of...the lack of ability to get a basic qualification educationally represents a permanent handicap. You just can't get a...can't scale the slippery wall. Is that correct?

BRITTON: Right.

JAVITS: And racism still continues as a factor

BRITTON: Right, sir.

JAVITS: Both in job opportunity and in educational opportunity. Correct?

BRITTON: Right.

JAVITS: And you feel that major way to handle that is to proceed through federal government departments in dealing with programs here, making the programs more adequate even if they're administered by local people, you still feel more hopeful than using local agencies. Is that right?

BRITTON: Yes, sir. I certainly do.

JAVITS: Now, finally, do you think that anything can really be done, considering the critical situation, within the state or is it better to encourage people just to go elsewhere where they might have a chance? Do you think it's possible to deal with this problem within this state and to [inaudible] somehow or other to keep people here and do for them what needs to be done?

BRITTON: Yes, sir. I think it is possible, and I think we must do just that. Now, I cannot tell you how to do it. I have some ideas concerning it, but we must start now for doing just this. We're going to have to create jobs in the community whether the federal government does it or private industry.

We're going to have to create jobs for these people, and we must begin to do so immediately.

CLARK: Well, now, do you think that in the last 10 years or so (10 to 12 or 13 years) the situation has so changed that you see a chance for successfully doing what you recommend within the state whereas you may not have seen it before? Has the [climate] really changed?

BRITTON: I have seen a change in the federal government. They are much more interested now in this type of situation, and I suggest that this interest continue and that funds will be made available so that you can do some practical work in this area. I do not see that we are going to be able to do this locally. We are not going to be able to do it locally on most of the poverty programs that we have had here. This has been the experience of the poor people who need the services, who have not been allowed to help to administer their programs to the degree that their numbers will warrant that they should be allowed. So, I would suggest there that, in connection with the money voted for poverty funds, that you require that, before any agency is funded in this state, that they first develop a program for training poor people to take over the administration of their program and put a time on it. Give them a year or so many months to do that, and, following that time, the people who were instrumental, the power structure and others that were instrumental in getting this program started, should sit back in an advisory capacity, an advisory board to help these individuals when they get in trouble.

CLARK: And you believe that only the federal government agencies can do that?

BRITTON: Yes, sir.

CLARK: Thank you. Senator Kennedy.

KENNEDY: Doctor, is there...do you have those statistics or figures now? Are they available?

BRITTON: I have some figures now, sir. In 1964, by race, I have deaths under one month. I believe that was one you asked me about.

KENNEDY: Yes, yes.

BRITTON: The total number in the state was 1,372. 460 white, 912 non-white.

KENNEDY: Well, could you give me...the total figure is how many?

BRITTON: 1,372. And for white, 460. And for Negroes, 912.

- KENNEDY: And do you know how many...out of how many is that? How many children under one month would be included in that figure? How many children went beyond the one month?
- BRITTON: No, this is concerning one month of age, death under one month.
- KENNEDY: [inaudible] percentage of mortality rate. That's an interesting figure, but I was wondering what the percentage of mortality rate...infant mortality rate there was for...
- CLARK: In other words, how many children were born of whom [inaudible] died?
- BRITTON: Well, I read that once, sir. I'll find it again, sir.
- KENNEDY: I don't want to take up the committee's time.
- CLARK: Let's just put it in the record if that's alright.
- KENNEDY: We'll just go on and, then, [inaudible] include every thing that we need. What...is there...in your judgment, doctor, is there much hunger or malnutrition that presently exists amongst the poor of the state?
- BRITTON: We have found that there is not as near as much through the Head Start programs that we had anticipated from the standpoint of size and weight of the individuals, but we have a very high percentage of anemias in some of these schools which can be a reflection on not whether people have enough to eat as whether they are eating the right kinds of food. I submit that they are not getting the right kinds of food, and this is where an improvement should be made.
- KENNEDY: You don't have any figures or statistics [inaudible]
- BRITTON: No, sir.
- KENNEDY: I have here a report that says that the surplus food program [inaudible] functions in 70 of Mississippi's 82 counties. Not only has it [headed] off near starvation for thousands of families, but it's given much needed employment on a nondiscriminatory basis to auditors, nutrition specialists, certification clerks and clerk typists. [inaudible]
- CLARK: Would you agree to that, doctor? This is a memo furnished to the committee by the staff of the Office of Economic Opportunity. Senator Kennedy has read you the heart of it which is that this surplus food program help has been very useful down here.
- BRITTON: I certainly do agree with that.

- KENNEDY: Tell me, doctor, also, if you think that there is a large group of the White population who are anxious and willing to help deal with the problems of poverty and the problems that existed for some of those who are deprived in the state and around the country?
- BRITTON: Well, let me put it this way. Those who are interested, their numbers are on the increase. Two to three years ago, there were very, very few people that were interested, but they're on the increase now. I am concerned, though, that, with an increase in interest on the part of white individuals in this state, that they may not be as aware of the need for maximum participation of the poor people, not only in being recipients of these programs, but in the planning and administering of these programs. And this is one of our big problems in relationship even with the white people who are now presently participating in [forming] these programs.
- KENNEDY: Would you say, though, if programs are going to be successful and effective, that there has to be close cooperation between the White and Negro population?
- BRITTON: No, sir. I said that I feel that it is most desirable to have close cooperation with them.
- KENNEDY: That's what I said. Would you agree that for the program to be successful and effective that there has to be close cooperation between the White and Negro population?
- BRITTON: No, sir. I can't say that there has to be. It's desirable that there be, but I can envision having successful programs without the close cooperation of local White Mississippians.
- KENNEDY: You don't think that there...I suppose there are isolated cases, but let me just put it in a more...on a more general basis where you have negroes who are deprived and negroes who are poor, but you also have Whites who are deprived and Whites who are poor in this state as we do in every part of the United States, and they, the Whites as well as the negroes, deserve health and deserve attention. To develop programs that are effective and successful for them, doesn't it have to be participation of both the Whites and the Negroes?
- BRITTON: Participation? Yes, sir.
- KENNEDY: And active cooperation. That's the term I used.
- BRITTON: It is very desirable that we have that.

- KENNEDY: Doctor, I think that unless you have that...I'm not...unless you have that, the Negroes are going to turn in one direction and the Whites are going to turn in another direction. I don't think that these programs are going to be very effective, not only in Mississippi, but I think the same situation...you have that situation elsewhere in the country. You're not going to have a very effective, successful program.
- BRITTON: Well, Senator Kennedy, I agree with you all and on that this is more desirable, but I can envision some areas, some communities, some counties in which this participation...lack of this participation should not and must not stop the program.
- KENNEDY: No, well, that's not...that's a different point of view. I didn't say that it should stop the program. I said that, for the program to be successful and effective, that you really have to have the Whites and the Negroes working together to bring about that result. That's what I'm suggesting.
- CLARK: This, doctor, raises...before you answer...this raises the whole question with which the subcommittee has been bombarded since we got down here as to the relationship between the power structure and the poor people of Mississippi. I must say I don't know the answer. I wish you'd let us know what you think.
- BRITTON: I do not say that I know the answer, but I will say this, that we should not depend on active participation of the power structure in all of these poverty programs. It's desirable to have them, but, if they do not participate, I think the federal government must find some way of helping to administer these programs, develop these programs, themselves and involve these people that the programs are designed to help. Now, I readily admit that, if you can get the power structure to do this, you wouldn't have any work to do.
- JAVITS: Mr. Chairman, may I say that I agree [that this] is what the United States is all about, and it's high time that we understood that this is one of 50 states and not an empire in itself.
- CLARK: Senator Javits,...
- KENNEDY: [I'd like to add]...what I'm suggesting and we, also, have these same problems in the state of New York as the Senator knows far better than I do. And when you talk about the infant mortality rate, the fact is the infant mortality rate in the ghettos of the city of New York and in Chicago and Los Angeles amongst Negroes is much higher, twice as high as amongst white people. The same kind of discrimination that you've outlined as far as opportunity to obtain employment exists in the North as well as in the state of Mississippi. We have 26 ½ per cent of our young Negroes [inaudible] out of school and out of work. And we have a drop out problem of children

leaving school. So, my point is that this is not a unique problem with the state of Mississippi. There might be problems that exist here that don't exist in our part of the country, and I think that we have problems in our part of the country that don't exist down here. We have 17,000 people in the North that are bitten by rats every year in our ghettos, so it's unsatisfactory. We have 40 per cent of our housing in the ghettos which is substandard. So there are problems all across the country, and, in my judgment, and it's just my own judgment, to reach a successful result with any program, it requires the contributions and it requires the active participation of both the white and the negro population. I don't think it can be effective or successful otherwise. You might not [achieve it], and, therefore, you're going to have to establish a program or a system in which doesn't bring that about, and, in my judgment, will be less successful. Perhaps you won't be able to have the participation of the White community either in dealing with the problems of [inaudible] or dealing with the problems of one of your counties here in Mississippi. But, in my judgment, and it's just my own judgment, you're much better off, got much more chance of success, if there is an effort by those of right mind in the negro population and those of a right mind in the white population work together to develop a program to deal with this problem. I [inaudible] philosophy [inaudible] and I guess that's my idea about it and I [inaudible] to pursue it, but that's my judgment. And I think it's a mistake if I might say so, doctor, to rely just on one segment of the population and then hope that that's going to be effective [inaudible].

CLARK: Do you care to make any comment, doctor?

BRITTON: I won't comment on that, sir.

CLARK: Senator Murphy.

MURPHY: Doctor, you said that the Negro on the farm that's out of a job with only menial labor and menial jobs to be available to him...what do you mean by menial?

BRITTON: Did I say only menial jobs would be available to him when he...?

MURPHY: Yes, sir. That was what you said.

BRITTON: If he's off of the farm, chances are that no jobs will be available for him, and I mean by janitorial jobs, yard man and that type of thing. If he finds anything, this...

MURPHY: That's all that would be available to him. Alright, let me ask you one other question. You say that they're paying cotton choppers three dollars a day?

BRITTON: They were paying them three dollars a day, sir.

MURPHY: Does the Department of Labor know about this?

BRITTON: Oh, sure. Sure. Yes, sir.

MURPHY: That comes out around 30 cents an hour.

BRITTON: Yes, sir.

MURPHY: I didn't know that. I thought that the Department of Labor and the [inaudible] had set wage rates. Let me ask one other question.

BRITTON: But, sir, may I expand on that. I say that they were paying them that in the past. Not this year. I did not mention [inaudible]

MURPHY: What are they paying them now? Do you know?

BRITTON: I do not know, sir, but I hope they are paying them more.

MURPHY: Would you find out and make that part of your testimony for the record?

BRITTON: I'll try to find that out. I will find that out.

MURPHY: It would be interesting to know. Now, one other thing. You know that there was a great recruitment program for farm labor, supplemental farm labor [inaudible] and during the harvest time. And we bring in laborers from...well, on the East Coast here they bring them from the West Indies. Was there any attempt to recruit any of these [colored] for these jobs?

BRITTON: I know of none.

MURPHY: [They were paying] them [\$1.35] an hour last year.

BRITTON: I know of no effort, sir.

MURPHY: You know of no effort?

BRITTON: I know of none.

MURPHY: Have you seen any evidence of political activities in the carrying out of the poverty program?

BRITTON: Political activities?

MURPHY: Yes, sir. You just answered my question by your expression.

- BRITTON: Well, that question [inaudible] is difficult to answer, because there is...
- MURPHY: [inaudible] there any actual incidences that you know of where poverty funds were used for political purposes?
- BRITTON: Well, sir, I would prefer someone else speaking to that, because I would be giving you my opinion and wouldn't be able to supply you with the facts.
- MURPHY: That's good. I very pleased and satisfied with your answer. I have no more questions. Thank you, doctor.
- CLARK: Doctor, as a physician and a sociologist, do you think it is desirable to institute in the state of Mississippi a program of planned parenthood for the poor people?
- BRITTON: Desirable to do that?
- CLARK: Yes.
- BRITTON: No, sir. I do not.
- CLARK: Why not?
- BRITTON: Well, because it is not necessary to do this. You give these people jobs where they can make some money and their parenthood...that's planned parenthood enough right there. That's not meeting the...that's not...we're putting the cart before the horse when we try to meet problems like that, and I'm not for it at all. This is an individual and a personal matter again in the first place, and the government shouldn't be involved in it. That's my personal opinion.
- CLARK: Thank you, doctor. Senator Murphy.
- MURPHY: One more question, doctor. When Senator Javits asked you about the training, he said "What kind of jobs were available? What kind of training programs?" And you mentioned only nurses. Were there any other training programs that you could mention, so we'd know what they are?
- BRITTON: Sir, permit me to submit a transcript of the hearing that I had on that for this committee, and it will answer that.
- MURPHY: Very satisfactory.
- CLARK: Thank you very much, doctor, for a very helpful statement.
- BRITTON: Thank you, sir.

CLARK: Our next witness...

[WALES]: We'll return in just a moment, now. We pause for station identification.

CLARK: ...Council on Human Relations. The committee will stay in session until we finish the morning's witnesses even though we've overrun the 12 o'clock recess hour. We're now exactly one hour late. Mr. Dean, we're happy to have you here. Will you please proceed [your own way].

DEAN: Thank you, Mr. Chairman, other members of the subcommittee. As director of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations for the last two years and three months, I have been involved almost daily with the poverty program in one way or another. Our office makes referrals, and we receive complaints. We stay in contact with both the OEO office in Washington and Atlanta as well as the office here in the state of Mississippi. We hear what's coming from that side as well as what's coming in from complaints in the field. I would like to give somewhat of a patchwork of a report this morning in order to save time since we're running behind. To begin with we have heard charges made that the poverty program in Mississippi is primarily an outside program. I have taken the three single purpose agency programs in the state and have surveyed the top...

[WALES]: Testifying now is Mr. Ken Dean of Jackson who's Executive Director of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations.

DEAN: ...and I have found this. Of those top 90 positions, we have 82 per...72 per cent of these positions filled by native Mississippians or Mississippians who have been here for 10 years or more. That means 28 per cent of these jobs, which require very highly skilled people, only 28 per cent have to be imported from the outside.

CLARK: Do you have any idea how many of that 28 per cent are Negro?

DEAN: Yes, sir. We have of these...in these 90 positions we have 56 per cent White and 44 per cent Negro. I find that the...

CLARK: That didn't quite answer my question, but maybe you don't have the facts. What percentage...what...how many of the 28 per cent who are from outside the state are Negro? If you don't know...

DEAN: I have that, but it would take some time to find out...

CLARK: [inaudible] for the record?

DEAN: Yes, sir. That's one point. I would, also, like to make the comment that the

poverty program in the state of Mississippi is, most definitely, tied in with race. It does begin there, and it may end there. I'm not sure. But most of the opposition that we have countered within the state to the poverty program does not have to do with some minor incident that happened within a given program, but it, really, is only a disguise for the attitude that people have as regards to race relations.

CLARK: Now, who do you mean by the people? The general population of Mississippi? The leaders in the professions and businesses?

DEAN: What their attitude is toward race in the poverty program?

CLARK: Well, I just want you to define the phrase, "The people". Who do you mean by the people?

DEAN: I'm not testifying from a written record, and I don't know which...

CLARK: Well, at the risk of taking another 30 seconds, you said a moment ago that, in your opinion, the poverty program was affected in the minds of the people by the element of race, and my question is who do you mean when you use the word people?

DEAN: What I meant to say was we have a number of people who oppose the poverty program from time to time for reasons that have to do with administration problems. These people who usually oppose it are from every station in life. We have people in both the Negro and White community who oppose it, and, from time to time, most of the time I think this has to do with their view on race.

CLARK: In your opinion, do a majority of the people in Mississippi support the poverty program?

DEAN: Yes, sir, they do.

CLARK: Please proceed.

DEAN: I wanted to make a comment as to just where we are today in the matter of race relations. The Mississippi Council on Human Relations has, as a presupposition of its work, that we will only have peace and harmony in Mississippi when we view all races here as human beings and that each has the potential to be a creative person in our society. I can start out by saying that there has been a definite change in Mississippi in the last two years on the part of the politicians as well as the businessmen as well as the general public.

CLARK: Do you attribute that change to increasing Negro registration? So far as the politicians are concerned?

DEAN: I would say that that is not the major cause of the change, but it is one of the, perhaps, top two or three causes.

CLARK: Could you state the two or three major ones, in your judgment?

DEAN: Yes, sir. I think the major cause is that the businessmen here in the state of Mississippi feared a national boycott of materials made in Mississippi, and, when this happened, there was definite change in their role of responsible leadership as regards race relations. I think that the second cause of change was the interest of the federal government in various programs and civil rights laws in the state, and I think, thirdly, the matter of Negro voter registration has led to change. If I might speak just a word about where the state is as regards to race relations. I feel that at one time we had what would be described as a paternalistic society here which was often times characterized by violence. This is no longer the case, but we now have what would be more nearly described as a humanitarian paternalism which tries to rule out violence, but which tries, in very subtle ways, to maintain the control over what happens with the Negro. I do not feel that we have yet recognized the Negro as a full-fledged citizen of equality. We are, now, trying to implement in some small ways, even from our state capitol building, the civil rights legislation of '64 and '65, but we're also...while we are doing this in a minimum way...we're also drawing definite lines. Number one. We are willing to integrate public accommodations...allow this integration to take place. Number two. We are willing to allow Negroes to compete for jobs so we know that they cannot obtain these jobs because they are not prepared in terms of education. Number three. We are willing to let Negroes register in the state of Mississippi, but we are not willing, number four, to make a conscientious effort to desegregate our school system. I think that we are willing to do these first three things, because we know if we do not desegregate our schools that untrained, uneducated, undisciplined Negroes will not continue to vote, stay registered. I think we know that they will not be able to compete for jobs, and they will not be able to participate in the services of our hotels and motels. So, this is where I think the state is. I think that we have definitely made progress in that we have ruled out violence, but we have also drawn a line to limit the progress that we are going to enter into in the matter of race relations. In the Council on Human Relations we understand that poverty is when a man is alienated from society. I often tell the story of a man who has two Cadillacs, owns a home, owns three businesses in the state of Mississippi, but I think he's poor, I think he's poor because there are many things that he cannot do in this society. And it's not because he doesn't have money, but it's because that this man has black skin. This is the problem that we're trying to deal with in the Council, this matter of alienation of people because of the colors

of skin. I think the poverty program, if it's going to be effective, will have to come to deal critically with this issue of race and not with just the matter of economics. This brings me to the point that I would like to make concerning the poverty program and civil rights. I feel that the Congress of the United States made a very bold and moral step when they passed the civil rights legislation of '64 and '65, but, in the implementation of the poverty program in the state of Mississippi, we have talked about civil rights as though this was something dirty. It behooves me to understand why it is that it's something dirty for a man to become registered to vote or for a man to go down to a hospital and demand medical service even though he may be black. I think that this is probably the most serious mistake that's being made in the poverty program for what have we gained if we tell a man that he might participate in some social program, but yet, in fact, block the avenues that are open to him that would help him overcome this alienation. I think that every poverty program in the state, whether it be a Head Start or community action program, adult literacy or manpower training act, when it does community survey, it should ask the people that they survey how many adults are in that household and whether or not they are eligible to vote, whether or not they are registered to vote, if not, are they willing to vote. For many years we have had these small taxes that have kept people from registering to vote. I think that now we should afford these people with enough gas money to get down to register to vote, encourage them to be full citizens. I would like to say that the poverty program has made a number of real contributions, and the contribution that I think to be most important is that in the mind and heart of the Negro it has planted an idea of hope. I think this is where we begin. I know that the federal government cannot maintain controls over local community and create a community spirit of sharing and concern, but I do think that it can put something before these people that will cause them to see that the resources are there for them to care about each other, and I think that this is what the poverty program has done. In some instances, it has followed through with a program that has moved in this direction. In some instances, it has not yet moved. The second thing that I think has been an outstanding contribution has to do with the medical care that has come to the children in the Head Start program. The question was asked a while ago about the figures on these children as regards to anemia. A study was done in Marshall County of Mississippi over a year ago. 300 children were examined, and they found that 90 per cent of these children suffered from nutritional anemia. Much is being done to overcome this both through medical care and through recommendations as regards diets. These children are getting better diets in the Head Start program plus many of the Head Start programs are, also, trying to involve the parents in trying to teach in how to better make use of what foods they have.

KENNEDY:

Could I just interrupt there?

DEAN: Yes, sir.

KENNEDY: Out of the 300, what percentage were Negro and what percentage were White?

DEAN: They were all Negro, sir.

KENNEDY: And what was their family income? Do you have any idea?

DEAN: I don't have that figure, sir.

KENNEDY: Were they families that were poor?

DEAN: Yes, they were families that were eligible to participate in the poverty program.

KENNEDY: Is that the only county that that study has been made?

DEAN: It's the only county that I have knowledge of that study being made.

KENNEDY: And was that a cross-section, do you know, of the children that were on the poverty level?

DEAN: It would have been the children that were eligible for Head Start which would be from three to five years old.

KENNEDY: And it was a cross-section, as you understand, of that group or is that all of the ones in Marshall County that were [tested]?

DEAN: I don't know if that were all of the children or not.

KENNEDY: Do you know what the population of that county is?

DEAN: I don't have those figures with me.

CLARK: Please furnish that for the record. Or I guess we can get them. We don't have to get you to get them. Go ahead, sir.

DEAN: One other contribution that I would like to point out that has been made by the poverty program is this. In a number of these programs, in fact in most all of the programs, we have had an upsurge in better attitudes as regards to race relations. We do have Negroes and Whites working side-by-side, making decisions side by side. And for a large number of the Negroes who have, heretofore in Mississippi, never had the chance or the opportunity at this, these people are, at least for eight hours a day, treated as full equals. And this is guaranteed by the poverty program. I think that this is, perhaps,

just a sample of what this program can do for the state, but we have...we had trouble desegregating the restaurants here in Jackson until the poverty program offices moved in, but now they've all been desegregated numerous times and it's commonplace for Negroes and Whites to be eating together in a restaurant. I think this, though, is just a beginning. I think it's a tremendous contribution. In terms of some of the weaknesses of the program, I would like to point out that, while we have children who do receive medical...who do receive medical attention, oftentimes the problems that they have have to do with the entire family. And we're having problems getting medical care for an entire family [inaudible] where just one child in that family is involved in the Head Start project. I think that some work should be done to make the program more inclusive of the family. In fact, I think if a family...if a child is eligible for a program or if the senior member of the family is eligible for adult literacy program, I think that the poverty program should, in some way, engage that entire family. Thus, if one member of the family is considered a poverty person, the entire family, then, is a poverty family.

JAVITS: Do you have any figures on family size among the poor?

DEAN: No, sir. I don't have. Another weakness (and I don't know just how this can be dealt with), but there is a real lack of cooperation between agencies at the county level who receive federal funds who are involved in programs with the federal government [inaudible] cooperation between traditional institutions and the poverty program. For example, I will cite Yazoo County. In Yazoo County we have three poverty programs: a Head Start program, a STAR program (adult literacy there) and a CAP program. In that county, this program is, for the most part, controlled by the local officials, yet, in that county, only 11 per cent of the Negroes are registered to vote. In that county, there is no Medicare program. The hospital there is still desegregated, and it was reported to me by the Social Security...

CLARK: You mean segregated.

DEAN: Excuse me. The hospital...White hospital there is still segregated. It was reported to me last week by Social Security Commission they will not take an emergency Medicare physician...patient in that county. Thirdly, I would like to point out in that county that...

CLARK: What county is that?

DEAN: Yazoo County.

CLARK: Yazoo.

DEAN: In that same county, last week the Education Department moved to cut off

the funds to the public schools there because of lack of compliance with school desegregation civil rights. I think that this county shows that we can have even a number of poverty programs in a given county, yet, not do much for that county in terms of bringing the poor people into the services and institutions that should be open to the public. That concludes the remarks that I wanted to make, sir.

CLARKS: Thank you very much. Senator Javits.

JAVITS: I'd just like to ask you one question, Mr. Dean. It's the same question I asked Dr. Britton. Do you believe that it is [inaudible] to, with the federal government's assistance, work out this problem in Mississippi for the poor Negro who had to leave the farm by mechanization, etc., or now what we hear is the alleged result of the minimum wage in agriculture? Or do they really have to leave the state and go elsewhere?

DEAN: I think that programs could be worked out to help these people. I wouldn't dare try to answer the question as to what all the programs should be. I have talked with enough of these people to know that these people do not want to leave the state. They've had enough of their kinfolks to go to Chicago and Buffalo and Rochester and Saint Louis to know that their experience there is not a happy experience.

JAVITS: And do agree they would want to stay here and fight it out?

DEAN: Yes, sir.

JAVITS: If we help them?

DEAN: Yes, sir.

JAVITS: Now, again, Dr. Britton's question. Do you believe this must be done through federal agencies rather than local agencies?

DEAN: Yes, sir. I do think that it will have to be done through federal agencies, because the state and local agencies have not really shown any interest in this problem. One of the candidates for Governor's seat in the next election recently said that he thought that segregation was the only way in our state until we reduced the Negro population to 15 per cent. I think that this man is reflecting the views of a good number of the officials in our state. I would make another comment at this point which has to do with the attitude of the state regarding [inaudible] activity. The Mississippi Council applied for a charter two years and two months ago. We have not yet been chartered by the state of Mississippi. Yet, other organizations, such as the NAACP and the Urban League, have received charters. The reason for this is that, in Mississippi, the NAACP and the Urban League are working, primarily, in

the Negro community. They're dealing, primarily, with a Negro membership. But the Mississippi Council on Human Relations is a thoroughly integrated organization that pretty well balances out 50-50.

JAVITS: Now, would you say that the White poor in Mississippi have fared as badly as the Negro poor?

DEAN: I think that, economically, they have fared as badly. In terms of education and a matter of ignorance, they have fared as badly. But no in terms of being alienated from society and being deprived of social services such as medical services.

JAVITS: And you feel, therefore, that in terms of what is endemic in their reason for being poor, however, as much needs to be done for the White poor as the Negro poor?

DEAN: No, I think they are suffering from two different kinds of poverty, sir.

JAVITS: I don't quite get your answer to that. What are the two different kinds of problems.

DEAN: The White poor are mostly poor as regards to education and economics. They are not rejected and alienated from society because of the color of their skin.

JAVITS: Whereas, the Negro poor are?

DEAN: Yes.

JAVITS: And that makes it very harder to make the grade...very much harder to make the grade?

DEAN: Yes, sir.

JAVITS: Now, do you find a basic antagonism between the two groups?

DEAN: Between Negroes and Whites?

JAVITS: In the poor and the poverty category.

DEAN: Poor Whites and poor Negroes?

JAVITS: Right.

DEAN: Yes, sir, because we have, for many years, encouraged and allowed and controlled the poor White vote, and we have controlled it by telling them

that they were better than our Black population, and that they would have to vote certain ways and do certain things in order to keep the Negroes from taking over control of them. So, this is built in rather strong [here].

JAVITS: But your work, I gather, is an endeavor to reconcile in order to show the [inaudible] of the two in terms of improvement. Is that right?

DEAN: Yes, sir.

JAVITS: And how do you think you've succeeded?

DEAN: I don't mean the compliment my own organization, because so much of what we do is done in conjunction with other agencies. But I think, in light of the problem as it was here in '64, we've made tremendous progress.

JAVITS: And, so, do you see some hope of a new day in which both groups subject to poverty will realize that they have much in common if they're ever going to get out of their dreadful condition?

DEAN: Sir, I think that the racial problem is much worse than I ever thought it to be when I came here for this reason. Many of the very well educated people, many of the people who are very committed in terms of a moral position, many people who are working across biracial lines, refuse to spend any of their leisure time with Negroes.

CLARK: Will the senator yield?

JAVITS: [inaudible]

CLARK: I'd like to ask you, Mr. Dean, whether you've noticed any change among the younger people, particularly the younger Whites, with reference to Negro relationships or whether they're about the same regardless of the age group?

DEAN: Younger Whites are more liberal on race issues until they get married and expect a baby and have a mortgage on a house and car. And then they perpetuate the status quo.

CLARK: Well, do you see any ray of light in this [inaudible] picture?

DEAN: Yes, sir. I feel that, with continued interest in the state on the part of the federal government as regards to the civil rights program and the poverty program, that we can make am...that we can make substantial progress that would build a platform from which we could launch other programs.

JAVITS: And do you feel that very important in that progress would be a higher

economic base for the state as a whole which [inaudible] for all of us has this very low classification economically?

DEAN: Yes, sir I feel that that would be very helpful. I, also, would like to say that a very important factor here is the position of the state of Mississippi that, regardless of what else happens, we're going to stop violence.

JAVITS: Got to stop violence.

DEAN: Yes, sir.

JAVITS: That is...to that extent there has been progress and is the declared and practiced policy of the state.

DEAN: Yes, sir.

JAVITS: Now, do you feel the state's attracting as much business and industry as it should?

DEAN: No, sir, I don't feel that it's attracting as much as it should. I...we are making efforts in this direction. I would like to say that this subject will be dealt with by a witness in the afternoon session, and I think we would waste time [inaudible] pursue that.

JAVITS: Alright, fine. Thank you.

CLARK: Senator Kennedy.

KENNEDY: Mr. Dean, what do you think is the most important aspect of the poverty program? What is the most significant part of it? What do you think is that part of it which can accomplish the greatest amount of good?

DEAN: I think the most important part of the poverty program is the relationship that exists between the federal government and the very poor people. This...

[WALES]: Ladies and gentlemen, this concludes the portion of the telecast from the Olympic Room in the Heidelberg Hotel here in Jackson for this morning. You've been hearing the sub...viewing and hearing on FM...the subcommittee on employment, manpower and poverty hearings, and we will continue this telecast and this broadcast at 2 o'clock this afternoon.

DEAN: ...causes them to grow both emotionally as well as intellectually and as regard to administrative responsibility.

KENNEDY: For that to be successful and effective, therefore, really requires the active

participation of those who are recipients of the program.

DEAN: Yes, sir. It does.

KENNEDY: And for that, again, to be effective, it requires them to develop the program and to participate in the running and the operation of the program.

DEAN: Yes, sir.

KENNEDY: Has that been done to the degree that you would like to see it done here in the state of Mississippi?

DEAN: No, sir. Not all programs are run this way. A number of the programs are humanitarian paternalism as I said earlier. One of the fears that I have, as regards to the poverty program, is that we will have sort of an interposition of the state political structure in between the federal government and these poor people. I'm all for political protocol, but the problem of poverty, I think, is a problem of the nation, and we should not allow any one political faction or any one state to step in between and prohibit and stop and be an obstacle to the federal government's attempt to cure the problem of poverty.

KENNEDY: So it's, really, a question of whether we want to go through with a philosophy of handouts, either by the federal government or federal government through the state or whether we want to have a philosophy that the people themselves develop these programs making them effective themselves and participating in them in an active...in an active degree at all levels.

DEAN: Yes, sir. I think the poverty program, as it is written, if it would be implemented is an excellent program and can very well deal with the root cause of poverty.

KENNEDY: Would you say the key to the, really, any success that we might have in the future here in the state and, based on that, perhaps, elsewhere in the country, is, really, the active participation of those who are recipients of the poverty program...are the subjects of the poverty program?

DEAN: Yes, sir.

KENNEDY: Thank you.

CLARK: Senator Murphy.

MURPHY: Do you think that there's been enough education throughout the community among both the White and Negroes as to the purposes and possibilities of

the poverty program or do you think this has just come in in some areas as a controversial subject and, therefore, been penalized?

DEAN: My response to that is I am surprised that the poverty program has been able to function with any degree of success at all, because it has had the most terrible press that you could imagine in the state of Mississippi, therefore, the...most people in the state, both Negro and White, are generally misled as regards to the purpose of the poverty program.

MURPHY: Why would you suggest that they've had such a bad press?

DEAN: Because the poverty program in its right form does deal with biracial participation.

MURPHY: In other words, the...there are two, as I hear your testimony, the main barrier to the success of the program is a lack of understanding or development in actual interracial relations. Is that a proper statement?

DEAN: No, sir, it isn't.

MURPHY: Would you point out where I was wrong? I believe you said earlier that race relations was very...was very important in this whole thing.

DEAN: Yes, sir, it is very important.

MURPHY: I just said that it's a lack of development in race relations is one of the barriers to the success of the poverty program.

DEAN: I understood your initial question to have to do with why the press took the position it did in the state.

MURPHY: Well, I'd left that. I thought you'd answered that.

DEAN: Yes, sir. I don't understand your further question.

MURPHY: I've tried to find out what you've made, I mean, you've given us a great deal of testimony that had to do with civil rights. I'm trying to find out so that, in my notes, I can put down two or three or four of the main points that you've made on the positive side.

DEAN: Yes, sir.

MURPHY: I have listened to the negative side for a long time.

DEAN: Yes, sir.

- MURPHY: And I think that my colleagues and myself are interested in the positive side. That's why I said that one of the...the first thing is that the race relations must be straightened out before it can work properly.
- DEAN: No, sir. I think that if the problem of race relations...if the problem of race relations was solved, then we would have some sort of community of caring about each other, and we would take care of the problem of poverty out of our own resources.
- MURPHY: I see. Thank you very much. Now, one other thing. Do you think that the capability of providing jobs is very high on the list of the things necessary to cure poverty?
- DEAN: I think that...that jobs come as a result of a community that exists.
- MURPHY: You think jobs are secondary and not primary.
- DEAN: Yes, sir.
- MURPHY: Ok, thank you.
- CLARK: Thank you very much, Mr. Dean, for your very enlightening and helpful testimony. Now, our last witnesses this morning are a panel of individuals who have taken a very active and vocal part in the poverty program in various parts of the state of Mississippi. We're going to have the appear as a panel. I'd ask you to come forward, please, ladies and gentlemen, and take your places at the witness table. Mrs. Anita Blackwell of Mayorsville, Issaquena County (I don't know whether I pronounced that right or not); Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer of Ruleville, Sunflower County; the Reverend J. E. Killingsworth, Enterprise, Clark County; Mr. Amzie Moore, Cleveland, Bolivar County; Mr. [Ivey] Elmore of Jackson, Mississippi and Mr. Robert Earl Thomas of Greenwood, Mississippi. Have we got enough chairs there for them, [Senator]? Now, it would be helpful to the committee if you would sit from left to right in the order in which I called your name so we will know who's who. I'd like Mrs. Blackwell to go over there on the left, and, next to her, Mrs. Hamer. I see she's there. Then the Reverend Killingsworth. Then Mr. Moore. Then Mr. Elmore, and then Mr. Thomas. Now, let me see, we're missing somebody. [inaudible] we're missing somebody. Where's Mr. Thomas? Is Mr. Thomas here? Well, I guess we've only...what? Is Mr. Turner from Wayne County here, a substitute for Mr. Thomas? Well, we'll proceed then with the five of you. Oh, here he is. Now, are you Mr. Turner or Mr. Thomas? Mr. Turner. Right. What's your first name, Mr. Turner. G. L. Turner. Now I'm going to ask each of you, if you will...I'm going to ask each of you in turn, if you will, to speak for three minutes, if you can possibly hold yourselves down to that, about your opinion of the poverty program as you know it in your own area. If you

want to branch out of your county, that's alright. But, primarily, we want to know about the poverty programs in your areas as you know them, and I understand you would like to have Mr. Amzie Moore be the first one to speak. Mr. Moore, will you please proceed? I should say that, after you've each had three minutes, then we're going to have a sort of a general panel discussion hoping to get through sometime before one o'clock. We're now an hour and 10 minutes behind schedule. Who is the lady that just joined the panel? I'm so sorry, I can't hear you...

END OF SIDE 2

END OF RECORDING

INDEX

Anemia – 41, 50

Anti-poverty law - 4

Birth statistics – 32, 33, 34

Businessmen – 5, 22, 48

Child Development Group of Mississippi (CDGM) – 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 16

Civil Rights – 13, 31, 36, 48, 49, 52, 55, 58

Death statistics – 32, 33, 40

Desegregation – 49, 51, 52

Discrimination – 34, 36, 37, 38, 43

Doctors – 18, 20, 23, 33, 34, 35, 36, 41, 44, 52

Education – 6, 8, 9, 17, 18, 19, 20, 23, 24, 25, 30, 31, 35, 39, 49, 52, 53, 54, 55, 57

Ernst and Ernst – 11, 14

Farm families - 30

Farm residents - 30

Farm workers - 30

Federal government – 4, 7, 9, 36, 39, 40, 43, 48, 50, 52, 55, 56, 57

Food stamps – 31, 35, 36

Handicaps – 17, 18, 19, 39

Head Start program – 4, 5, 8, 10, 13, 17, 18, 21, 22, 23, 27, 32, 34, 41, 50, 51, 52

Immunizations - 18

Infant mortality – 32, 33, 40, 43

Jackson – 16, 17, 22, 29

Jackson State University - 23

Job Corps - 9

Literacy training – 19, 21, 24, 31, 50, 52

Local government – 9, 31

Mary Holmes Junior College – 6, 15

Medical services – 18, 23, 25, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 49, 50, 51, 53

Medicare - 52

Midwives – 32, 34, 36

Millsaps College - 23

Mississippi Council on Human Relations – 46, 47, 48, 49, 53

Mississippi Employment Security Commission – 8, 9, 19, 24, 25

Mississippi State Board of Health – 33, 34

Mount Beulah – 8, 11

Negroes – 12, 18-19, 22-23, 25, 29-35, 37-38, 40, 42-44, 47-55, 57

Nurses – 34, 36, 38, 46

Nursing homes - 38

Nutrition – 18, 22, 30, 35, 36, 41, 50

Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) – 5, 7, 8, 11, 14, 20, 27, 35, 47

Parents – 13, 17, 18, 21, 31, 32, 34, 50

Planned Parenthood program - 46

Poor Whites - 54

Poverty program – 1, 2, 10, 16-18, 20, 23, 24, 26, 34, 37, 40, 43, 45, 47-52, 56-59

Public schools – 13, 21, 29, 52

Senate Appropriations Committee – 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 13, 15, 16

Shriver, Sargent – 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11

Social Security - 52

Social workers - 18

Speech therapy - 18

STAR program – 17, 19, 21, 25, 27, 28, 52

Subcommittee on Manpower, Employment and Poverty - 2

Surplus commodities – 31, 36, 41

Teachers – 15, 17, 18, 22

Training – 8, 9, 19, 20, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31, 36, 37, 38, 40, 46, 50

United States Congress – 9, 12, 17, 20, 49

United States Senate – 2, 3, 6, 8, 10, 11, 13, 14, 35

Vote – 49, 50, 52, 54